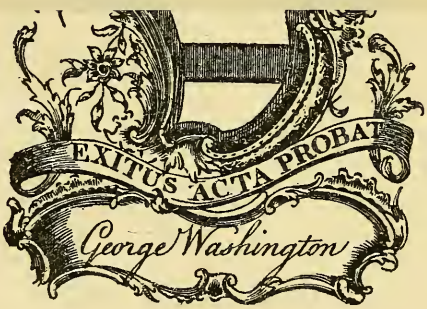
Boston University
College of Liberal Arts
Library

Nov. 23, 1933

97308
W27F
v.1

73040

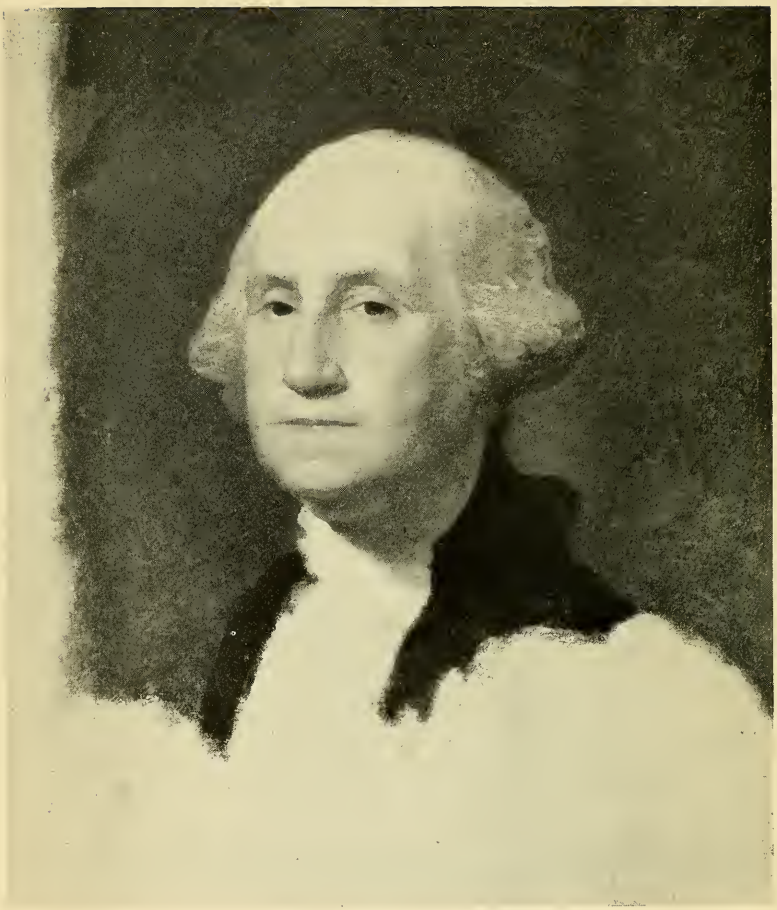


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2010 with funding from
Boston Library Consortium Member Libraries

http://www.archive.org/details/writingsofgeorge009wash

GEORGE WASHINGTON
BICENTENNIAL EDITION

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON



G. Washington

Painted from life, by Gilbert Stuart, in Germantown, 1796. Known as the "Athenaeum" portrait. The original is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts

THE WRITINGS OF

George Washington

from the

Original Manuscript Sources

1745-1799

Prepared under the direction of the UNITED STATES GEORGE WASHINGTON BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION and published by authority of CONGRESS

JOHN C. FITZPATRICK, *Editor*

Volume 9

August 1, 1777 - November 3, 1777

United States
Government Printing Office
Washington

PRINTED

MAY, 1933

E
312.7
F31
V.9

UNITED STATES GEORGE WASHINGTON BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

President of the United States
Chairman

Vice President of the United States
Speaker of the House of Representatives

United States Senate

SIMEON D. FESS, *Vice Chairman*
Ohio

ARTHUR CAPPER
Kansas

CARTER GLASS
Virginia

MILLARD E. TYDINGS
Maryland

House of Representatives

WILLIS C. HAWLEY
Oregon

JOHN Q. TILSON
Connecticut

JOSEPH W. BYRNS
Tennessee

R. WALTON MOORE
Virginia

Presidential Commissioners

MRS. ANTHONY WAYNE COOK
Pennsylvania

MRS. JOHN DICKINSON SHERMAN
Colorado

HENRY FORD
Michigan

GEORGE EASTMAN *
New York

C. BASCOM SLEMP
Virginia

WALLACE MCCAMANT
Oregon

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART
Massachusetts

JOSEPH SCOTT
California

Executive Committee

THE SENATE AND HOUSE COMMISSIONERS
C. BASCOM SLEMP
MRS. ANTHONY WAYNE COOK
JOSEPH SCOTT

Historian

PROF. ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Associate Directors

REPRESENTATIVE SOL BLOOM

Executive Secretary
WILLIAM TYLER PAGE

* Deceased.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ON THE WRITINGS

Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, *Chairman*
Chair of American History and Chief of Manuscripts Division
Library of Congress

Professor Randolph G. Adams
Librarian William L. Clements Library
University of Michigan

President J. A. C. Chandler
William and Mary College

Dr. Tyler Dennett
Editor, United States Department of State

Dr. Charles Moore
Chairman United States Commission of Fine Arts

George W. Ochs-Oakes, Esq.*
Editor, New York Times

Brigadier General John M. Palmer
United States Army, Retired

Victor H. Paltsits
Chief of Manuscript Department
New York Public Library

*Deceased.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1777

Page

To Major General Israel Putnam, August 1 1
British Fleet has left the Delaware—Anxiety—Importance of the Highlands.

To Major General Nathanael Greene, August 1 . . . 2
Arrival of his troops at Germantown.

To Major General John Sullivan, August 1 2
Sailing of British Fleet from the Delaware—Troops to countermarch to Peekskill.

To Officer Commanding Brigades Marching from Peekskill, August 1 3
Brigades to return to Peekskill.

To Major General Nathanael Greene, August 1 . . . 3
Troop orders on disappearance of British Fleet.

To Colonel Elias Dayton, August 1 4
Orders him back to Peekskill.

To Brigadier General Alexander McDougall, August 1 . 4
Defense of the Highlands.

To Governor George Clinton, August 1 5
Return of the army to the North River.

To the Officer Commanding Brigades Marching from Peekskill, August 1 5
Urging a rapid march back to Peekskill.

To Major General John Sullivan, August 3 6
Countermarch of troops.

To Brigadier General Preudhomme de Borre, August 3 . 6
Halt of his troops—Capital punishment—The disagreement with Major Mullens.

To Brigadier General Francis Nash, August 3 . . . 8
To hold troops in readiness to move.

To the President of Congress, August 3 8
Wishes to be excused from selecting a commander for the Northern Army—Need of militia reenforcements for that army.

Page

To Colonel Elias Dayton, August 3 9
Uncertainty of enemy's purposes—Troops to halt.

Circular to the States, August 4 10
States to manage the recruiting service.

To Major General Horatio Gates, August 4 11
His appointment to command the Northern Department.

To the New York Council of Safety, August 4 . . . 12
Panic on Burgoyne's advance—Strengthening the Northern Army—Little as yet done by the States affected—Arnold and Lincoln sent on—No aid can be given from the south—False reports of Burgoyne's force—Election of Clinton as governor.

To Governor Jonathan Trumbull, August 4 15
Perplexity from British Fleet's movements—Evacuation of Fort Edward—Languor of States in furnishing men to oppose Burgoyne.

General Orders, August 4 17

To John Langdon, August 4 17
News from France.

General Orders, August 5 18

To the Board of War, August 5 18
Deficiency in arms and accoutrements—Need of armorers—Need of beer, cider, and vinegar to refresh the troops.

To John Augustine Washington, August 5 20
Movements of the troops—Inoculation—Affairs at the north—Attitude of France—Col. P. P. Thornton—British Fleet probably gone to the eastward.

To Major General William Heath, August 5 . . . 23
Inquiry into evacuation of Ticonderoga—Uncertainty as to British Fleet—Desertions.

To Brigadier General Francis Nash, August 5 . . . 24
Ordering his troops to Trenton—Wagons and baggage.

To Colonel George Baylor, August 5 24
Money for completing his regiment.

To John Laurens, August 5 25
Delay in appointing another aide.

To George Walton, August 6 25
Appointment of General McIntosh.

To the President of Congress, August 6 26
The recall of Generals Schuyler and St. Clair.

Page

To Colonel Elias Dayton, August 6 26
Troops to halt until destination of British Fleet is known.

To Major General Horatio Gates, August 6 27
Colonel Malmedy to serve in the Northern Department.

General Orders, August 6 27

General Orders, August 7 29

To Major General Horatio Gates, August 7 33
Marquis du Bouchet.

To Major General Philip Schuyler, August 7 . . . 34
His coming to headquarters.

To Major General Israel Putnam, August 7 34
Destination of British Fleet—Gates to command in the north—Reenforcements for him.

To the President of Congress, August 7 35
Situation of affairs in the north.

General Orders, August 8 35

To the President of Congress, August 9 36
False report of British Fleet off Boston.

To President Thomas Wharton, Junior, August 9 . . 36
Complaint against Major Simms.

To the President of Congress, August 9 37
News of the British Fleet.

To Colonel Daniel Morgan, August 9 37
Ordering his command to Maidenhead.

To the President of Congress, August 9 38
Resolution of Congress on exchange of prisoners—Ration representation—Inquiry into the conduct of affairs at the north.

To Samuel Washington, August 10 39
Condolence—Thornton Washington—Uncertainty of British Fleet movements—Affairs in the north.

To Major General Philip Schuyler, August 10 . . . 41
Burgoyne's advance.

To Major General William Heath, August 10 . . . 41
Imaginary British Fleet off Boston—Destination of the fleet—Dependence on militia—Junction with Heath—British will need cattle.

To Major General John Sullivan, August 10 43
Sullivan's health—Clothing and shoes—Army marching to the Delaware—A pardon—Strength of British at New York.

Page

To Colonel Daniel Morgan, August 10 45
Orders to halt.

To the President of Congress, August 10 45
No intelligence of the fleet—Army moved to Coryell's—Defenses of the Delaware—Billingsport and Fort Island compared—A battery at Red Bank—Disposition of land forces—Obstructions in the river—The country should be accurately mapped.

To William Sever, August 10 53
False report of British Fleet off Boston—Has left the Delaware capes—Removal of cattle, etc., if British come to Massachusetts.

To Major General Israel Putnam, August 11 54
The fleet sighted south of the capes of Delaware—Necessity of obtaining intelligence of the force left in New York.

To Brigadier General Silas Newcomb, August 11 . . 56
His troops to go to Red Bank.

To Artemas Ward, August 11 57
Mr. Sever's intelligence—British Fleet off Sinepuxent.

To Major General William Heath, August 12 . . . 58
Springfield included in his command—The elaboratory.

To the President of Congress, August 12 59
New Jersey Militia.

To Colonel Alexander Spotswood, August 13 . . . 59
Rank dispute.

To Major General Israel Putnam, August 13 . . . 59
Militia reenforcements—Regiments for the Northern Army.

To Governor George Clinton, August 13 60
Alacrity of New York militia—General Gates obviates excuse of withholding eastern reenforcements—Recruiting resolves of Congress.

To Silas Deane, August 13 61
His introductions of French officers—Difficulties—Situation in the army.

General Orders, August 13 63

General Orders, August 14 65

To Robert Morris, August 14 65
Silver dollars received at Trenton.

To Major General John Sullivan, August 14 65
Major Mullens's conduct—British Fleet off Sinepuxent—Pay of troops.

Page

To Colonel Elias Dayton, August 14 66
Information of British wanted.

To Colonel Thomas Price, August 14 67
Pay abstracts.

To Captain Ephraim Anderson, August 15 67
Ordering arrest of Colonel McDaniel.

To Lieutenants William Bird, Richard Dorsey, John Craig, Nicholson Ruxton Moore, and George Gray, August 15 68
On claims of rank and resignations—How to be interpreted.

To the President of Congress, August 15 69
Chevaux de frise in the Delaware River.

To Major General Israel Putnam, August 16 70
Morgan's riflemen sent north.

To Colonel Daniel Morgan, August 16 71
Ordering him to reenforce the Northern Army.

To the President of Congress, August 16 72
Profiteering of merchants in necessaries—Public tanneries—Hides and leather—Value of liquor—Distillation of grain—Guard at Carlisle—Ownership of cavalry horses—Pay of captured officers.

To Governor George Clinton, August 16 75
Action near Fort Schuyler—Indians and effect of reverses—Efforts of the State commended—Delay of Eastern States—Troops at Bennington—On massing the troops in front of Burgoyne—Advantage of threatening the enemy's flanks—Removal of the boats—Morgan's riflemen sent to the north.

General Orders, August 16 79

To Brigadier General Francis Nash, August 17 . . . 80
Effectiveness of capital punishment—Promotion in North Carolina line.

To Lieutenant William Bird, Richard Dorsey, John Craig, Nicholas Ruxton Moore, and George Gray, August 17 81
Determination not to resign approved.

To the President of Congress, August 17 82
Regiments and militia sent to northward—Morgan's corps also sent.

To the President of Congress, August 17 83
Duportail's claim for horses and servants.

Page

To the Maryland Delegates to the Continental Congress, August 17 84
Arrest of a recruiting officer in Maryland.

To Benjamin Franklin, August 17 85
Embarrassments caused by foreigners—Necessity of discouraging their coming over, and of promising them nothing.

General Orders, August 17 88

To Major General Israel Putnam, August 18 91
Conduct of Connecticut Militia—Payment to British deserters.

To Baron de Holtzendorff, August 18 92
His work on Prussian tactics.

To Captain Thomas Nelson, Junior, August 18 . . . 93
His resignation.

To Captain Van Swearingen, August 18 94
Payment of his men's claims.

To Benjamin Harrison, August 19 95
The Marquis de Lafayette—Conditions of his joining the army.

To Brigadier General Preudhomme de Borre, August 19 96
His brigade major.

To Brigadier General Anthony Wayne, August 19 . . 97
Exorbitant prices of necessaries—Redress—Augmented pay and its application.

General Orders, August 19 98

General Orders, August 20 100

To the President of Congress, August 20 101
Letters from General Schuyler.

To Major General Horatio Gates, August 20 102
His progress—Colonel Morgan's corps—Other reenforcements—Movements of the enemy.

To Brigadier General William Smallwood, August 20 . 103
Brigading of regiments—Uncertainty of move of the main army—Stragglers—Passports.

To William Buchanan, August 20 105
Need of liquor—Prices.

To Major General Philip Schuyler, August 21 . . . 105
His remaining at Albany—Charges against him—Affairs on the Mohawk River.

Page

To Colonel George Gibson, August 21 106
Orders to remain at Alexandria.

To the President of Congress, August 21 107
British probably gone to the southward—Charleston the object—How is the army to be employed?—An attack on New York desirable—Opinion of a council of general officers—Command in the Northern Department.

Council of War, August 21 109

To the President of Congress, August 21 110
Discharge of militia at Red Bank.

To the President of Congress, August 21 111
British Fleet off the Virginia Capes—Military stores at Charleston—Doubt that Howe will go into the Chesapeake.

To the President of Congress, August 21 112
Comte Pulaski.

To John Page, August 21 112
Order to regiment at Alexandria—Puzzling conduct of Howe.

To Governor William Livingston, August 21 . . . 113
New Jersey Militia to relieve New York troops—Word of British Fleet.

To Governor William Livingston, August 21 . . . 114
Need of Dayton's and Ogden's regiments.

General Orders, August 21 114

To Major General Israel Putnam, August 22 . . . 115
British Fleet in Chesapeake Bay.

To Major General John Sullivan, August 22 115
British Fleet in Chesapeake—Sullivan's troops to join the army at once.

To Brigadier General Francis Nash, August 22 . . . 116
His troops to join the army.

To Colonel Elias Dayton, August 22 117
His regiment and Ogden's to join the army.

To the Board of War, August 22 117
Requests the cannon now at Brunswick—Difficulty of combining the Carolina Horse with Baylor's regiment.

To the President of Congress, August 22 118
Arrival of British in Chesapeake Bay—The army to move on Philadelphia.

General Orders, August 22 119

Page

General Orders, August 23 124

To the President of Congress, August 23 127
Army on the march—Will go through Philadelphia—Defenses of the city.

To Brigadier General William Smallwood, August 23 . 128
Calling out militia to repel the British.

General Orders, August 24 129

To Brigadier General John Armstrong, August 25 . . 130
British landing at Head of Elk—Militia to march.

To Brigadier General Francis Nash, August 25 . . . 130
Ordering him to Wilmington.

To Colonel George Baylor, August 25 131
Ordering him to join the army with such recruits as he has.

To the President of Congress, August 25 132
Disposition of the army—Stores at the Head of Elk.

To the President of Congress, August 25 132
News from the North—Movement of troops toward Wilmington.

General Orders, August 25 133

General Orders, August 26 134

To Major General John Sullivan, August 27 135
Failure of expedition against Staten Island—Sullivan's division should be spared.

To Brigadier General Philemon Dickinson, August 27 . 136
Arranging the militia.

To the President of Congress, August 27 136
The British debarked—Difficulties of removing stores.

To Samuel Chase, August 27 137
Disaffected in the lower counties—Officer vacancies—Removal of powder.

To Colonel George Evans, August 27 138
Troops ordered to Christiana Bridge.

General Orders, August 27 139

To Colonel John D. Thompson, August 28 140
Lack of arms for Eastern Shore militia—Arrangement of Maryland Militia.

Page

To Brigadier General John Cadwalader, August 28 . 142
Howe on his march toward Philadelphia—The Maryland Militia to hang on his flank—Knows of no one other than Cadwalader to take up the matter.

To the President of Congress, August 28 143
Employment of Comte Pulaski.

General Orders, August 28 144

General Orders, August 29 145

To the President of Congress, August 29 145
British advance—Removal of stores—Prisoners and deserters.

To Brigadier General William Maxwell, August 30 . 146
Expected advance of the British—Opposition.

To Brigadier General William Smallwood, August 30 . 147
Smallwood and Gist to repair to Maryland and take command of the militia.

To the President of Congress, August 30 148
No movement on the part of the enemy—Prisoners taken.

General Orders, August 30 148

General Orders, August 31 149

To Colonel Mordecai Gist, August 31 149
To take command of the Eastern Shore militia—General instructions.

To the President of Congress, September 1 151
Workmen in the militia—News from the north.

To the President of Congress, September 1 152
Intentions of the enemy—Howe's *Declaration*—Skirmishing by advanced parties—The Maryland Militia.

To Brigadier General William Maxwell, September 1 . 153
Safety of cattle and stores at Nottingham—Use of horse for messages.

To Major General Horatio Gates, September 1 . . . 154
Raising siege of Fort Schuyler—Provisions ordered to Gates.

To Brigadier General William Maxwell, September 1 . 155
British plundering party—Colonel Armand's complaint.

To Colonel Patterson Bell, September 1 156
Agreement to furnish volunteers with provisions, etc.

To Lieutenant Colonel Anthony W. White, September 1 156
A deserter from his corps.

Page

To Colonel Hugh Hughes, September 1 156
Ordering salt provisions sent to General Gates.

General Orders, September 1 157

To Governor William Livingston, September 1 . . . 158
The case of Troup—Court-martial ordered but may not be competent in the matter—The New Jersey Militia—Abuse of passports—Movements of the British—Troup's case once more.

To Major General Joseph Spencer, September 2 . . . 161
Exchange of prisoners.

To Brigadier General William Maxwell, September 2 . 162
Misbehavior of men in Armand's corps—Parties to watch the enemy—Siege of Fort Schuyler raised.

To Brigadier General William Maxwell, September 2 . 162
Caution as to Maxwell's projected attack on British.

To Brigadier General Thomas Nelson, Junior, September 2 163
His appointment—Garrison at Portsmouth—British at Head of Elk—Siege of Fort Schuyler raised.

To Colonel David Mason, September 2 165
Completion of Virginia regiments—Inoculation—Substitutes for deserters—Kettles and blankets.

To Colonel James Hendricks, September 2 166
Command of the First Regiment.

To Colonel Charles Armand-Tuffin, September 2 . . 166
Complaint against his corps.

General Orders, September 2 167

General Orders, September 3 168

To Brigadier General William Maxwell, September 3 . 171
British in Bohemia Manor—Information of their position wanted.

To the President of Congress, September 3 172
Inquiry into Sullivan's expedition against Staten Island—Repulse of the enemy—Skirmish at Iron Hill.

To the Committee of Intelligence in Congress, September 3 174
Distribution of handbills of victory at Bennington.

To Governor Thomas Johnson, September 3 . . . 174
Recommends Col. John Cadwalader to arrange and bring the Eastern Shore militia into the field—Success at Fort Schuyler.

Page

To Brigadier General Edward Hand, September 4 . . 175
Interference with recruiting—Relief of Fort Stanwix.

To Colonel William Richardson, September 4 . . . 176
Eastern Shore militia to oppose British at Head of Elk.

To Doctor Benjamin Rush, September 4 177
Exchange of Captain McPherson.

General Orders, September 4 177

General Orders, September 5 180

To Brigadier General William Maxwell, September 5 . 182
Letters for Lord and General Howe—Firing upon a flag—Intelligence of British position needed.

To Brigadier General William Maxwell, September 5 . 183
Proposed capture of a Hessian general.

To Brigadier General Caesar Rodney, September 5 . . 184
Newcastle and Maryland Militia—Urging attempt to cut the British off from their shipping.

To Christopher Ludowick, September 5 185
Requesting him to come to camp.

To Sir William Howe, September 5 186
Exchange of Prescott for Lee.

To the President of Congress, September 5 186
Movement of British ships at Elk—British loss at Iron Hill.

To Major General Israel Putnam, September 6 . . . 187
Building barracks at Peekskill—Troops to winter there—Skirmishes.

General Orders, September 6 188

To Captain Benjamin Pollard, September 6 190
Blocking of road and bridge—Building of a bridge.

General Orders, September 7 190

To Major General William Heath, September 7 . . . 193
Commissions—Position of the two armies—Probable plans of the enemy.

To the President of Congress, September 7 195
Failure of New Jersey Militia to turn out—British advance.

To Governor Jonathan Trumbull, September 8 . . . 196
Reenforcement of Peekskill—British movements.

To the President of Congress, September 9 197
Maneuvers of the British—Army marching to Chads Ford.

Page

To Brigadier General William Smallwood, September 9 198
British advance—Army moving to Chads Ford—Smallwood to move forward.

General Orders, September 9 199

General Orders, September 10 199

To Major General Israel Putnam, September 10 . . 201
Congress's orders for a force to repel a British advance from Staten Island—Expectation of action at Chads Ford.

To Brigadier General Caesar Rodney, September 10 . 202
Temper of the militia—Urging Rodney to hang on rear of the British—Militia pay rolls.

To the President of Congress, September 10 203
Putnam's detachment—Du Coudray's suggestion—Location of the British.

To the Board of War, September 10 204
Provision complaint—Ration difference.

To Colonel Theodorick Bland, September 11 . . . 205
Asks for intelligence of British movement.

To the President of Congress, September 11 206
British advance at Chads Ford—The conflict.

To the President of Congress, September 11 207
Battle of Brandywine—Losses—Hope for better fortune.

General Orders, September 11 208

General Orders, September 12 209

To Brigadier General William Smallwood, September 12 210
Requests him to fall on the British rear—Rodney and Gist to join him.

General Orders, September 13 211

To Colonel Stephen Moylan, September 13 214
Removal of stores from French Creek.

To Charles Stewart, September 13 214
Placing stores on route of the army—Secrecy.

To the President of Congress, September 13 215
The Delaware River defenses of Philadelphia.

To President Thomas Wharton, Junior, September 13 . 216
Militia at Swedes Ford—Work on the Delaware River fortifications.

Page

To Sir William Howe, September 13 217
Sends surgeons to the wounded American prisoners.

To President Thomas Wharton, Junior, September 13 . 218
Collection of straggling soldiers in Philadelphia.

To Major General Israel Putnam, September 14 . . . 218
British move from Staten Island—Detachment to be sent to Washington—General McDougall to come on—Connecticut Militia to reenforce the Highlands.

To Major General William Heath, September 14 . . 219
Orders him to forward all Continental troops at once—Late engagement with the British.

To Major General John Armstrong, September 14 . . 220
Removal of bridge over the Schuylkill—Works to guard the upper fords.

To Brigadier General Alexander McDougall or Officer Commanding the Detachment from Peekskill, September 14 221
Orders to join General Dickinson and oppose the British.

To Brigadier General William Smallwood, September 14 222
Strength of his force—Enemy to be harassed from the rear—His position to be reported.

To Major General Philemon Dickinson, September 14 . 223
Cooperation against the enemy.

To Colonel William Rumney, September 14 223
Virginia Militia to march to Lancaster.

To Major Francis Murray, September 14 224
Ordering him to join the army.

To the Officer Commanding at Schuylkill, September 14 224
Removal of the Schuylkill bridge.

To the President of Congress, September 14 225
Forwarding letters disclosing the situation.

General Orders, September 14 225

General Orders, September 15 226

To the President of Congress, September 15 227
Inexpedient to recall Sullivan—Great need of general officers—Position of the two armies—Need of blankets and clothing—Removal of provisions from the city.

Page

To the President of Congress, September 16 230
Position of the army.

To the President of Congress, September 17 230
Movement of British and consequent march of the Continentals.

To Brigadier General William Maxwell, September 17 . 231
Damage to ammunition.

To Brigadier General William Smallwood, September 17 232
Ordering his detachment to join the army.

To Joseph Jones, September 17 232
Loan of phaeton.

To Major General Thomas Mifflin, September 17 . . 233
Movement of baggage and ammunition.

To Colonel William Malcom, September 17 233
Independent companies—Winter quarters—Protection of Jersey and the Highlands.

General Orders, September 17 234

To Brigadier General Anthony Wayne, September 18 . 235
Position of the British—Wayne to harass their rear.

To Brigadier General Anthony Wayne, September 18 . 235
Move upon the British—Generals Maxwell and Potter to act with him—The situation.

To the President of Congress, September 18 236
Measures for checking British—Stores should be moved from Trenton—Cleaning arms and replacing cartridges.

To the President of Congress, September 19 237
Plenary powers granted—The Schuylkill repassed—Movements of the army—Damaged ammunition.

To Brigadier General Alexander McDougall, September 19 239
To join the army at once.

To Brigadier General William Smallwood, September 19 240
Ordering him forward against the British.

To Governor George Clinton, September 19 240
Mrs. Hatfield's request—Position of the two armies.

Page

To Major General John Sullivan, September 20 . . . 241
Sullivan's conduct at Brandywine.

To Major General John Sullivan, September 20 . . . 242
Obstruction of fords.

General Orders, September 20 243

General Orders, September 21 244

To Sir William Howe, September 21 244
Surgeon for American wounded.

To Major General John Sullivan, September 21 . . . 245
March of the army.

To Major General Philemon Dickinson, September 22 . 246
Orders to join the army.

To Brigadier General Alexander McDougall, September 22 246
Urging him on to army—Position of British.

To Colonel George Gibson, September 22 247
Orders to join the army.

To Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton, September 22 248
Distress of the army for clothing and blankets—Directed to levy contributions in Philadelphia—Horses.

To Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton, September 22 249
Impress of shoes and blankets.

General Orders, September 22 251

General Orders, September 23 251

To Brigadier General Anthony Wayne, September 23 . 252
His corps to join the army—Need of concentrating the troops.

To Major General John Sullivan, September 23 . . . 253
His request for a court of inquiry.

To Major General Israel Putnam, September 23 . . . 253
Howe's march on Philadelphia—Calls for reenforcements—Route they should take.

To Colonel Matthew Pollock, September 23 254
To escort baggage to Bethlehem.

Page

To Colonel Joseph Thornbury, September 23 . . . 255
Heavy baggage of the army.

To Commodore John Hazelwood, September 23 . . 255
Importance of Mud Island—Hazelwood to garrison and protect with his galleys.

To Baron D'Arendt, September 23 256
Appoints him to command Fort Island—Importance of the post.

To the President of Congress, September 23 257
Advance of the British—Maneuvers of the American army—Events of the week summarized—Deplorable situation of the troops from want of shoes—Strengthening Fort Mifflin—Shoes and blankets—Howe's seizure of Philadelphia may prove his ruin.

To Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Smith, September 23 . 260
Orders to garrison Fort Mifflin.

Council of War, September 23 261

To Lord Stirling, September 24 263
General McDougall's danger.

To Major General Horatio Gates, September 24 . . . 264
Directed to send down Colonel Morgan's corps.

To Lord Stirling, September 25 265
Maneuvers.

General Orders, September 25 266

General Orders, September 26 267

To Brigadier General David Forman, September 26 . 268
Route of march of his militia.

To Colonel Clement Biddle, September 26 269
Authority to impress clothing.

To Elbridge Gerry, September 26 270
Doubts expediency of impressing arms—Need of blankets and shoes—Militia reenforcement expected.

To Brigadier General David Forman, September 27 . 271
His militia reenforcement.

To Brigadier General Thomas Nelson, Junior, September 27 271
Doubt of British invasion of Virginia—Dismissal of militia—The Brandywine-Germantown campaign—Distress for shoes—News from the north.

Page

To the Officer Commanding the Virginia Militia, September 27 273
Militia at Lancaster to join the army.

To Elbridge Gerry, September 27 274
Would be glad to have arms, blankets, and shoes.

General Orders, September 27 275

General Orders, September 28 276

To the Board of War, September 28 277
Need of reenforcements—Militia.

Council of War, September 28 277

To Major General Israel Putnam, September 28 . . . 280
Pressing need of reenforcements.

To John Parke Custis, September 28 280
Renting dower lands in King William—Rule for determining rental—Land and belongings to be appraised—Rent to have some relative value to land and slaves—Intrinsic worth.

To Brigadier General David Forman, September 29 . 282
Route of march.

To Colonel Lewis Nicola, September 29 283
Garrison of Fort Mifflin—Militia—Naval assistance—Making of cartridges.

To the President of Congress, September 29 284
Defense of Fort Mifflin—Reenforcements—Opinion of council of war.

General Orders, September 29 285

General Orders, September 30 286

To Major General William Heath, September 30 . . 286
Ammunition for frigates—Prizes taken—Northern affairs—British in possession of Philadelphia.

To Captain Jeremiah Hill, September 30 288
His resignation.

To Comte Pulaski, September 30 288
A dragoon enterprise.

To William Aylett, September 30 289
Grain and shipping captured by the British.

To Major General Israel Putnam, October 1 289
Reenforcements—Cannon for use on the Hudson—Connecticut Militia.

Page

To Major General Philemon Dickinson, October 1 . . 291
Guard for stores at Trenton.

To Colonel Jonathan Mifflin, October 1 291
Removal of stores at Trenton.

To Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Smith, October 1 . . 292
Situation at Fort Mifflin—Capture of the frigate *Delaware*.

To Lieutenant Colonel William Palfrey, October 1 . . 293
Pay arrangements.

To Governor William Livingston, October 1 . . . 293
Situation in Jersey—British reenforcements at New York—Security of stores at Trenton.

To Governor Jonathan Trumbull, October 1 . . . 294
Northern affairs—Colonel Meigs's promotion—British in Philadelphia—Militia reenforcement for Peekskill.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Ferguson, October 1 296
Refusal of permission to Mr. Ferguson to come out from British lines.

General Orders, October 1 296

To the President of Congress, October 3 298
News from the north—Distress for shoes, stockings, and blankets—Capture of the frigate *Delaware*.

To John Page, October 3 300
Difficulty in corresponding—The military situation—Will notify Page of any southern move of British.

To Governor Patrick Henry, October 3 301
Correspondence — Virginia artillery — Captain Porterfield — Burgoyne's situation.

General Orders, October 3 303

General Orders, October 3 307
March on Germantown.

To the President of Congress, October 5 308
Attack upon the British at Germantown—Positions of the brigades—Details of the battle—Fog neutralized the advantage gained—Almost a victory—Losses.

General Orders, October 5 311

General Orders, October 6 312

To Brigadier General David Forman, October 6 . . 313
Home-going militia.

Page

To Sir William Howe, October 6 314
His complaint of disablement of mills—Wanton destruction by British.

To Sir William Howe, October 6 315
His dog.

To Governor William Livingston, October 6 . . . 315
Safety of stores—Characterization of Tories—Fog at Germantown.

To Colonel Henry Hollingsworth, October 6 . . . 316
Information of enemy desired—British grain at Head of Elk.

To John Gill, October 6 317
Use of Bucks County militia.

To Brigadier General James Mitchell Varnum, October 6 318
March of his detachment.

To Colonel John Siegfried, October 6 318
Collection of blankets, shoes, stockings, etc.

To Brigadier General William Woodford, October 6 . 319
Collection of shoes, stockings, and blankets.

To the President of Congress, October 7 319
Losses at Germantown greater than was supposed—Troops retreated at the moment of victory—Army to encamp and await reenforcements—Defenses on the Delaware—Navy desertions—Deficiency of general officers and consequences—General McDougall commended—Intelligence.

To the Board of War, October 7 323
Reenforcements from Virginia—Impressment of blankets, shoes, etc.—Arms from Springfield—Mease to join army.

To Major General Israel Putnam, October 7 325
Engineer for Fort Montgomery—Force needed to defend the Highlands—British strength in New York.

To Brigadier General James Mitchell Varnum, October 7 326
Troops to garrison Red Bank.

To Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Smith, October 7 . . 327
Navy desertions—Battle at Germantown—Encouraging prospects.

To Commodore John Hazelwood, October 7 . . . 328
Importance of Red Bank.

General Orders, October 7 329

Page

To Governor Jonathan Trumbull, October 8 . . . 329
Battle of Germantown.

To Major General William Heath, October 8 . . . 330
Excess arms drawn—Battle of Germantown.

To the President of Congress, October 8 332
Replacements in Knox's artillery—Harrison's regiment.

To Brigadier General James Mitchell Varnum, October 8 333
Greene's and Angell's regiments to go to Red Bank.

To Brigadier General James Mitchell Varnum, October 8 333
Duplicates former letter—March of army.

To Colonel Christopher Greene, October 8 333
To command at Red Bank—General instructions.

To Major General Israel Putnam, October 8 335
Varnum's march—Flour for Gates—Connecticut Militia—Battle of Germantown—British move up North River.

To Major General John Armstrong, October 8 . . . 337
General Potter's militia to check intercourse with Philadelphia.

To Lieutenant Colonel Lewis de La Radiere, October 8 . 339
Direction of works at Fort Montgomery.

To Governor William Livingston, October 8 . . . 339
Movement of the British up the North River—Importance of the Highland posts—Militia of New Jersey ordered to reenforce Putnam.

General Orders, October 8 341

General Orders, October 9 342

To Brigadier General James Mitchell Varnum, October 9 343
Recall of Angell's regiment—Surprise at route taken.

To Brigadier General James Potter, October 9 . . . 344
Plan of surprise of Wilmington.

To Colonel Christopher Greene, October 9 345
His march to Red Bank.

To President Thomas McKean, October 10 346
Situation in Delaware—Chance of a successful surprise of Wilmington—The fog at Germantown.

Page

General Orders, October 10 347

To the President of Congress, October 10–11 . . . 349

Winter quarters—British move up the Hudson—Assault on Fort Mifflin—Red Bank—Need of money—Lead supply—Distress for shoes and stockings—Thanks of Congress on Germantown—Resolve for preventing supplies and intelligence being carried to enemy.

General Orders, October 11 352

To John Page, October 11 354

Battle of Germantown.

To Major General Israel Putnam, October 11 . . . 355

British at Verplancks Point—Fears Putnam's letter has been intercepted.

To Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Smith, October 11 . . 356

Attack on Red Bank—Suggestions for strengthening the works.

To Major John Jameson, October 11 357

Impressment of horses, blankets, clothing, etc., in Chester County.

To Commodore John Hazelwood, October 11 . . . 358

Requests cutting Schuylkill banks to flood the Pennsylvania meadows—Destruction of hay.

General Orders, October 12 359

To Brigadier General Edward Hand, October 12 . . 361

Conditions at Fort Pitt—Officers and men of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment to be sent to the army.

General Orders, October 13 362

To the President of Congress, October 13 364

Affairs at Fort Mifflin—Loss of Fort Montgomery—Distress of army for supplies—Strength—Cartridge boxes—Defective state of regiments—Failure of volunteering and slowness of drafting—Court of inquiry on General Sullivan.

General Orders, October 14 368

To Commodore John Hazelwood, October 14 . . . 369

Seamen from the army—Defense of the Delaware.

To Colonel Christopher Greene, October 14 370

Seamen from his regiment.

To Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Smith, October 14 . . 370

British batteries—Seamen for the galleys.

To Major General Israel Putnam, October 15 . . . 371

Loss of Fort Montgomery—Burgoyne's defeat—Building of boats.

Page

To Governor George Clinton, October 15 372

Loss of Forts Montgomery and Clinton—Advance of Clinton probably checked by Burgoyne's surrender—Movements of the army—Defense of the Delaware—British destruction of boats intended—British losses at Germantown.

To James Mease, October 15 374

Authority to impress teams and clothing.

To Colonel Christopher Greene, October 15 375

Defense of Fort Mifflin—Reenforcements for that and Red Bank—Watchfulness enjoined.

General Orders, October 15 377

General Orders, October 16 379

To Colonel Israel Angell, October 16 380

Ordering him to garrison Red Bank.

To the President of Congress, October 16 381

Treatment of prisoners by the British—The enemy's efforts against the Delaware River forts—Duche's letter.

To Brigadier General David Forman, October 16 . . 383

Militia assistance—Northern victory—Local value of militia.

To the Board of War, October 16 384

Commissions.

To President Thomas Wharton, Junior, October 17 . . 385

Necessity for replacing militia whose time of service has expired—Pennsylvania must defend Philadelphia—Small assistance thus far given—Importance of maintaining the Continental battalions—Drafting.

To Richard Henry Lee, October 17 387

Baron de Kalb—Rumored appointment of Conway—The man characterized—Probable consequences should the promotion be made—Large number of resignations—Difficulties in harmonizing the service—Wants of the militia.

General Orders, October 17 390

General Orders, October 18 390

To Brigadier General James Potter, October 18 . . . 391

News from the North—Suggests harassing the British on Province Island.

To the President of Congress, October 18 392

Forwarding intelligence from General Putnam.

To Colonel Christopher Greene, October 18 392

Reenforcement of Fort Mifflin—Baron D'Arendt—Burgoyne's surrender—Ammunition supply.

Page

To Baron d'Arendt, October 18 394
Defense of Fort Mifflin.

To Lieutenant Colonel John Green, October 18 . . . 395
To reenforce Fort Mifflin.

To Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Smith, October 18 . . 396
Defense of Fort Mifflin—British batteries—Cutting the banks of Province Island.

To John Augustine Washington, October 18 . . . 397
Recent movements of the army—The affair at Germantown—Losses—Distress for want of clothing—Burgoyne's surrender.

To Commodore John Hazelwood, October 19 . . . 399
Warns against British surprising Fort Mifflin.

To Major General Israel Putnam, October 19 . . . 400
Defeat of Burgoyne—Intentions of Clinton—Death of Mrs. Putnam.

To Brigadier General David Forman, October 19 . . 402
Protection of salt works—Need of troops at Red Bank.

General Orders, October 19 402

General Orders, October 20 405

To Brigadier General James Potter, October 20 . . . 405
Interception of British provision convoy.

To Baron D'Arendt, October 20 406
Colonel Greene and Lieutenant Colonel Green.

To the President of Congress, October 21 406
Importance of the States filling their battalions—Deserters—Recruiting officers—British movements—Bombardment of Fort Mifflin.

To Brigadier General James Potter, October 21 . . . 408
Interception of British provision convoy.

To Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Smith, October 21 . . 409
Cooperation between land and sea forces in defense of Fort Mifflin.

To Commodore John Hazelwood, October 21 . . . 410
Harmony with Baron D'Arendt.

To Brigadier General David Forman, October 21 . . 411
British attack expected on Red Bank—Need of support—Protection of the salt works.

General Orders, October 21 412

General Orders, October 22 412

To Governor William Livingston, October 22 . . . 412
Appointment of officers to raise recruits and apprehend deserters—British movements—Protection of the salt works.

Page

To the President of Congress, October 22 413
Hancock's resignation—Dragoon escort on his journey to Boston.

To the Board of War, October 22 414
Military stores—Lead, shoes, blankets, etc.—Cartridge-box material—Returns of army.

To Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Smith, October 22 . . 416
Reenforcement of Fort Mifflin—Baron D'Arendt and the command.

To Major General William Heath, October 22 . . . 416
Arrival of a supply of arms, tents, and clothing—Lead—News from the north—Movements of the enemy.

To Brigadier General Silas Newcomb, October 22 . . 417
British move on Red Bank—Urges aid to that post and Fort Mifflin.

To Major John Clark, Junior, October 23 418
His energy in obtaining intelligence of the British.

To Major General Philemon Dickinson, October 23 . 419
British move against the Delaware forts—Need of assistance—Importance of concentration of efforts.

General Orders, October 23 420

General Orders, October 24 420

To the President of Congress, October 24 422
Repulse of the British at Red Bank—Provisions and ammunition for the fort—Prisoners sent away—Want of blankets and shoes.

To Colonel Christopher Greene, October 24 424
Congratulations on his repulse of the British—Removal of prisoners—Care of the wounded—The captured arms.

To Major General John Sullivan, October 24 . . . 425
Replying to queries—Conflicting intelligence the cause of the misfortune on the 11th—Protection of the fords—His general conduct.

Proclamation, October 24 426
Pardon for deserters.

To Captain Isaiah Robinson, October 25 427
Urging harmony between officers.

To Major General Benjamin Lincoln, October 25 . . 428
Lincoln's wound—Bombardment of Fort Mifflin—Defeat of British at Red Bank—Exchange of prisoners.

To Governor George Clinton, October 25 429
British ravages on North River—Colonel Malcom's services—British repulsed at Red Bank and Fort Mifflin.

Page

To Brigadier General David Forman, October 25 . . . 431
Urgent need of the Jersey militia.

Circular to Dragoon Commanders, October 25 . . . 432
Abuse of horse impressment liberty—Horses to be branded.

To Major Robert Ballard, October 25 433
Praising his conduct.

To Commodore John Hazelwood, October 25 . . . 433
Congratulations on his repulse of the British at Fort Mifflin—Ammunition on the way to him—Suggests scuttling the new frigates.

General Orders, October 25 434

To the Continental Navy Board, October 25 436
Commodore Hazelwood's need of seamen—Men from the Continental frigates—Suggests scuttling the frigates.

General Orders, October 26 438

To Major General Israel Putnam, October 26 . . . 440
Confirmation of Burgoyne's surrender—An attack upon New York suggested—Attacks on Red Bank and Fort Mifflin.

Circular to General Officers, October 26 441
Question of attacking enemy—Location of winter quarters, etc.

To Governor Jonathan Trumbull, October 26 . . . 443
News from the north—Defeat of British at Fort Mifflin and Red Bank.

To Lieutenant Colonel [Robert?] Ralston, October 26 . 443
To reenforce Red Bank.

To Colonel Christopher Greene, October 26 444
Militia reenforcement for Red Bank.

To Brigadier General David Forman, October 27 . . 444
Importance of Red Bank.

To Commodore John Hazelwood, October 27 . . . 445
Danger from British fire rafts—Suggests attempt to destroy the frigate *Delaware*.

To the Continental Navy Board, October 27 445
Evil of enemy's capturing the half-built frigates in the Delaware—Should be sunk—British can not hold Philadelphia if they can not get their fleet up the river.

To the Continental Navy Board, October 27 447
Urging immediate scuttling of the frigates—British activities.

Page

To Daniel Clymer, October 27 448
Recovery of cannon from the Delaware River and Trenton Creek.

To Samuel Washington, October 27 449
Purchase of lots at Warm Springs—Buildings thereon—Recent military occurrences—Situation of the armies—Prisoners taken in the north.

To Landon Carter, October 27 451
Personal risks—Battle of Brandywine—British repulse at Red Bank—Attack on Fort Mifflin—Clinton's depredations—Prisoners taken at the north.

To Brigadier General James Mitchell Varnum, October 28 455
To assist Fort Mifflin and Red Bank—General directions.

To Brigadier General David Forman, October 28 . . 457
Reenforcements for Red Bank and Fort Mifflin.

To Lieutenant Colonel John Green, October 28 . . . 458
Command at Fort Mifflin—Lieutenant Colonel Smith.

To Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Smith, October 28 . . 458
His command of Fort Mifflin—Reenforcements sent—Urges harmony with Commodore Hazelwood.

To Commodore John Hazelwood, October 28 . . . 460
Reenforcement of seamen drawn from army—Urges harmony with land force.

General Orders, October 28 460

General Orders, October 29 461

Council of War, October 29 461

To President Thomas Wharton, Junior, October 30 . . 464
Exorbitant price of liquors.

To Major General Israel Putnam, October 30 . . . 464
Return of Sir Henry Clinton down the Hudson River—Consequent troop arrangements—Reenforcement of main army.

To Major General Horatio Gates, October 30 . . . 465
Congratulations on his success—Regrets Gates's failure to inform him of the victory—Hamilton to inform him of the situation near Philadelphia.

To Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton, October 30 466
His mission to General Gates—Urgent need of reenforcements—Possible plan of Gates against Ticonderoga—Putnam to send on troops if Clinton has fallen back.

Page

To Major General Philemon Dickinson, October 30 . 468
Delay of New Jersey Militia.

General Orders, October 30 469

To Major General Israel Putnam, October 31 . . . 471
British retreat down the Hudson—Reenforcement from Gates.

General Orders, October 31 471

To Brigadier General James Mitchell Varnum, October 31 472
Removal of heavy cannon from Fort Mifflin and Red Bank.

To Brigadier General David Forman, October 31 . . 473
Conduct of General Newcomb—Suggests capture of a British battery.

To Brigadier General James Potter, October 31 . . . 474
Militia to obstruct road and dismantle mills—Directions—Secrecy necessary.

To the President of Congress, November 1–3 . . . 476
Alteration of ration—Little aid received from the militia—The conduct of General Newcomb—Movements of the army—Lack of ammunition—Reasons against an attack upon Philadelphia—Hamilton's mission to Gates—Howe's force larger than was supposed—Strength of the Continental Army—Awkwardness as to Lafayette—Monsieur de Vrigny—The Virginia regiments—Arrangement of the companies—Vaughan's expedition up the North River—Money for the support of the Hessian prisoners—Intelligence from the North River confirmed—Militia reenforcements—Reported attack on Rhode Island—Burgoyne's surrender.

To Governor William Livingston, November 1 . . . 485
Conduct of Brigadier General Newcomb—Questions his fitness to command—Evils of hiring substitutes for the militia—Lack of blankets, shoes, and stockings.

To Major General Israel Putnam, November 1 . . . 487
Requests appointment commissaries of purchases in Connecticut.

To Brigadier General James Mitchell Varnum, November 1 488
Fear of a night attack on Fort Mifflin—Use of galleys—Lack of harmony between land and sea forces—Urges cooperation.

To Brigadier General David Forman, November 1 . . 489
Collection of shoes, stockings, etc.—Distress for clothing.

To Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Smith, November 1 . 490
Reenforcements—Clothing—Suggests flooding upper end of the island.

General Orders, November 1 491

Page

General Orders, November 2 493

To Commodore John Hazelwood, November 2 . . . 494
Defense of Mud Island—Suggestions as to use of his galleys.

To John Hancock, November 2 495
His health—Dragoon escort—Proclamation respecting deserters.

To Brigadier General James Potter, November 3 . . 496
Arms for Virginia Militia—Interruption of British line of communication—Prevention of militia carryng off arms.

To the Board of War, November 3 497
Lead supply—Weatherproof cartridge boxes—Colonel Duportail's petition.

General Orders, November 3 498

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The Athenaeum Portrait . . . . . Frontispiece

Letter from New England Delegates in Congress suggesting General Gates for command of the Northern Department, August 2, 1777. In the writing of Samuel Adams . . . . . Facing page 8

Resolve of Congress on Washington's authority as Commander in Chief, August 23, 1777 . . . . . Facing page 128

Thanks of Congress to Washington and the Army for their attack on the British at Germantown, October 8, 1777 . . . . Facing page 320

Proceedings of a Council of War at Whitpain, October 29, 1777 . . . . . Facing page 462

TABLE OF SYMBOLS

The following symbols have been used to denote the place of deposit of Washington letters not found in draft or letter-book form in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress:

Indicating that the letter is in Washington's own handwriting	*
Chicago Historical Society	[CH.H.S.]
Clements Library, University of Michigan	[C.L.]
Chicago Historical Society	[C.H.S.]
Harvard College Library	[HV.L.]
Haverford College	[HD.C.]
Historical Society of Pennsylvania	[H.S.P.]
Huntington Library	[H.L.]
John Carter Brown Library, Rhode Island	[J.C.B.]
Maine Historical Society	[M.H.S.]
Maryland Historical Society	[MD.H.S.]
Massachusetts Historical Society	[MS.H.S.]
J. P. Morgan Library	[M.L.]
New Hampshire Historical Society	[N.H.H.S.]
New York Historical Society	[N.Y.H.S.]
New York Public Library	[N.Y.P.L.]
New York State Library	[N.Y.S.L.]
Rhode Island Historical Society	[R.I.H.S.]
Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati	[R.I.S.C.]
Society of the Cincinnati	[S.C.]
University of Chicago Library	[U.C.L.]
University of Pennsylvania Library	[U.P.]
Virginia Historical Society	[V.H.S.]
Virginia State Library	[V.S.L.]

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Chester, August 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have this moment received intelligence by express, that the Enemy's Fleet Yesterday morning about 8 O'Clock, Sailed out of the Capes in an Eastern course. This Surprising event gives me the greatest anxiety, and unless every possible exertion is made, may be productive of the happiest consequences to the Enemy and the most injurious to us. I have desired General Sullivan's division and the two Brigades, that left you last, immediately to return and recross the River, and shall forward on the rest of the Army with all the expedition in my power. I have also written to General Clinton requesting him instantly to reinforce you, with as many Militia of the State of New York as he can collect; and you are, on receipt of this, to send on an express to Governor Trumbull, urging it upon him to assist you, with as many of the Connecticut Militia as he can get together, and without a moments loss of time. The importance of preventing Mr. Howe's getting possession of the Highlands by a coup de main, is infinite to America, and in the present Situation of things, every effort that can be thought of must be used. The probability of his going to the Eastward is exceedingly small, and the ill effects that might attend such a step inconsiderable, in comparison with those that would inevitably attend a successful stroke upon the Highlands. Connecticut cannot

be in more danger through any channel than this, and every motive of its own interest and the general good, demand its utmost endeavours to give you effectual assistance. Govr. Trumbull will I trust be sensible of this. I am etc.[1]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

City Tavern, Philadelphia, August 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: We have not received any certain intelligence that the Fleet have got within the Capes. By the last accounts they were beating in, the Wind unfavourable. It is supposed they would get in about three OClock, Yesterday Evening.

I would wish you to collect and bring up your rear, as soon as may be, to German Town or to proper Grounds contiguous to it, where the Troops are to remain till further orders. If they can be got on this side, the better. You will reduce the Division to a proper arrangement in all its parts, and as the Brigades arrive you will order them immediately to set about cleaning and putting their Arms in the best possible condition.

Neither Officers or Soldiers are to be permitted to leave their Corps and come to this place. The Soldiers (not a Man is to be allowed to load); to prevent these things you'll issue the most peremptory orders. I am &ca.[2]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Chester, ½ after 9 O'Clock P. M., August 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: By an Express this moment received from Cape May, The Enemy's Fleet put to Sea Yesterday Morning at Eight

[1] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[2] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The awkward last sentence may be ascribed to Harrison's hurry. He had crossed out the following, which is a clearer statement: "The Soldiers must not load their Musquets nor a Man of 'em come to this City or straggle from their Corps under pain of the severest punishment."

O'Clock and were out of sight three Hours when the Express came away. From this event it appears Genl. Howe has been practising a deep feint, merely to draw our attention and whole force to this point. I am to request, that you will countermarch the Division under your command and proceed with it, with all possible expedition, to Peeks Kill, as there is the strongest reason to beleive, that the North River is their object and that they will make a rapid push to obtain possession of our posts there. The inclosed Letter for the Commanding Officer of the two Eastern Brigades which were ordered to march from Peeks Kill to reinforce this Army, you will transmit without a moment's delay. I am etc.[3]

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING TWO BRIGADES ON THEIR MARCH FROM PEEKSKILL

Chester, August 1, 1777.

Sir: I have this moment received information, that the Enemy's Fleet have left the Capes of Delaware and have Steered Eastward again. You are therefore to return immediately to Peeks Kill with the two Brigades under your Command. If you should find that the Enemy have thrown any Ships in the passage of Kings Ferry, you must proceed up to New Windsor and cross there. I am etc.[4]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Chester, August 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have just received information by express that the Enemy's Fleet have disappeared from the Capes Yesterday morning about eight O'Clock. This unexpected event makes

[3] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[4] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

it necessary to reverse our disposition and I have accordingly sent Orders to Sullivan's Division and the two other Brigades on the other Side the Delaware, to return and recross the North River. You are immediately to complete your men with two days provisions and hold them in readiness to march at further Orders, and you are to give Similar directions to the other divisions and corps. You will also be pleased to give the necessary orders to the Quarter Mr. General and Commissary General respecting their departments, desiring them to make proper arrangements for provisions and forage on the route. I am etc.[5]

To COLONEL ELIAS DAYTON

Chester, August 1, 1777.

Sir: Having received information that the Fleet have left the Capes of Delaware and steered Eastward, you are immediately upon the receipt of this to return and keep upon your march till you reach Peeks Kill. If you find any Ships thrown into Kings Ferry Way, you are to proceed to New Windsor and cross there. I am &ca.[6]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL

Chester on Delaware, 10 O'Clock P. M.,
August 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: By an Express this moment arrived from Cape May, The Enemy's Fleet left it Yesterday Morning at Eight O'Clock, put to Sea and were out of sight three Hours when the Express came away. I do not know whether you are coming on with the two Brigades ordered from Peeks Kill to reinforce this Army. If you are, I beg that you will leave the Brigade

[5] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[6] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

under the direction of the next commanding Officer to return to Peeks Kill with it and repair thither yourself with all expedition. You will use every exertion in your power to call in the Militia, as soon as possible and to prevent the Enemy from effecting a Coup de main against that post and its dependencies. Genl. Sullivan is ordered to return and other reinforcements will follow immediately. I am etc.[7]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Chester, August 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: I had proceeded thus far in order to look out for a proper place to arrange the Army, when I received the provoking account that the Enemy's Fleet left the Capes of Delaware Yesterday and Steered Eastward again. I shall return again, with the utmost expedition, to the North River; but as a sudden Stroke is certainly intended by this Manœuvre, I beg you will immediately call in every Man of the Militia, that you possibly can to Strengthen the Highland Posts. The importance of Fort Montgomery is such, that I wish you to repair immediately to it, if you possibly can, consistent with the duties of the Office upon which you newly entered. I am etc.

P. S. A party must be still kept to secure the Entrance of the Clove.[8]

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING TWO BRIGADES ON THEIR MARCH FROM PEEKSKILL

Philadelphia, August 2, 1777.

Sir: By express last Night, I informed you of my having received intelligence, that the Enemy's Fleet had left the Capes, and Sailed towards the Eastward, and in consequence thereof

[7] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[8] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

directed you, without losing a moment to return with the two Brigades under your Command, and rejoin Genl. Putnam. The utmost dispatch is absolutely necessary; for there is every reason to suppose the Enemy's movements will be extremely rapid, in order if possible, to carry the Highlands by a sudden Stroke. March back as light as you can, without any baggage, except your Tents, leaving the rest to follow. I am &ca.[9]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Qurs., Philada., August 3, 1777.

Dear Sir: By an express last Night from Cape May we are informed that the Enemy's Fleet were seen again after they first disappeared, from whence some people conclude that their going off was to gain more Sea room to weather the Shoals of Cape May, and that they will still come up Delaware. Under this uncertainty (as it is terrible to march and countermarch the Troops at this Season) you are desired to halt upon the most convenient and healthy Ground, near to the place where this shall overtake you. If you receive intelligence which you can certainly depend upon, that the Enemy's Fleet have gone into the Hook or are upon the Coast of New England, you are then to move on to Peeks Kill, without waiting any orders from me; if you are to come forward, I shall send you an express. I beg while you do halt, that you will use every means to refresh the Troops and to get their Arms into good order. I am etc.[10]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL PREUDHOMME DE BORRE

Head Qurs., Philadelphia, August 3, 1777.

Sir: I this day sent you orders by express, to halt wherever it should find you; and not to proceed any further towards the

[9] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.
[10] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Delaware, until you had orders from me for that purpose; nor to return towards Peeks Kill, unless you should have certain information, that the Enemy's Fleet were arrived at the Hook, or had gone further Eastward, in which case you were to go back to Peeks Kill, as expeditiously as possible. Since that I have been favoured with yours of the 2d. instant from Bound Brook.

With respect to the Tory, who was tried and executed by your order, though his crime was heinous enough to deserve the fate he met with, and though I am convinced you acted in the affair with a good intention, yet I cannot but wish it had not happened. In the first place, it was a matter that did not come within the jurisdiction of martial law, and therefore the whole proceeding was irregular and illegal, and will have a tendency to excite discontent, jealousy and murmurs among the people. In the Second, if the trial could properly have been made by a Court Martial, as the Division you command is only a detachment from the Army, and you cannot have been considered as in a Seperate Department, there is none of our articles of War that will justify your inflicting a *Capital* punishment, even on a Soldier, much less a Citizen. I mention these things for your future Government, as what is past cannot be recalled. The temper of the Americans and the principles on which the present contest turns, will not countenance proceedings of this nature.

I am sorry there is such a difference between Major Mullen[11] and you; but I cannot with propriety consent to your dismissing him, without his having had a fair trial, and any charges alledged against him being properly proved. As he is now under arrest, you may order a General Court Martial to be held

[11] Thomas Mullens. He was brigade major to De Borre to Sept. 14, 1777; brigade major and aide to Maj. Gen. Thomas Conway from October, 1777, to April, 1778; brevet lieutenant colonel in June, 1778, at which time he was permitted to return to France.

for his trial, and report the proceedings to me, on which I shall determine what appears to be just. I am &ca.[12]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL FRANCIS NASH

City Tavern, August 3, 1777.

Sir: As from a variety of contradictory circumstances, the Enemy's real intentions still remain ambiguous and uncertain, I would not have you at present embark the Troops as before directed, but keep them in a state of continual readiness for the purpose against further orders.[13] The Vessels should also be in constant readiness, that there may be no cause of delay when it shall be necessary to make use of them, and orders are given accordingly. I am &ca.

P. S. When you have orders to embark, give the same to the Artillery and see that they come on with you.[14]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Philadelphia, August 3, 1777.

Sir: Your Favor of this date with its inclosures is now before me.

At the same time that I express my thanks for the high mark of confidence which Congress have been pleased to repose in me, by their Resolve authorizing me to send an Officer to command the northern Army, I should wish to be excused from making the appointment. For this, many Reasons might be mentioned, and which I am persuaded will occur to Congress upon reflection.

The Northern department in a great measure, has been considered as separate, and more peculiarly under their direction, and the Officers commanding there always of their nomination.

[12] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[13] Nash was then at Trenton, N. J.
[14] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade and Alexander Hamilton.

Philadelphia, Aug.t 2 1777

Sir

as Congress have authorized your Excellency to send a proper Officer to take the Command in the northern Department: We take the Liberty to signifie to your Excellency that in our Opinion, no Man will be more likely, to restore Harmony, Order & Discipline, & retrieve our Affairs in that Quarter, than Maj. Gen.l Gates. He has an Experience & acquired the Confidence & stakes high in the Esteem of the eastern States & Troops, with Confidence in your Wisdom We chearfully submit it to your Excellency's Consideration.

have taken this method to communicate our Sentiments, judging it would give you less trouble, than a Personal Application.

We are with great Esteem your Excellency's most obedient & most humble

Servants

Delegates for
Massachusetts
N. Hampshire
R. Island
Connecticut

John Adams
Nath.l Folsom
Sam.l Adams
H. L. Marchant
Ubridge Gerry
Stephen Dyer
Wm Williams

His Excellency
Gen.l Washington

Letter from New England Delegates in Congress Suggesting General Gates for Command of the Northern Department, August 2, 1777
In the Writing of Samuel Adams

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
LIBRARY

I have never interfered, further than merely to advise, and to give such aids as were in my power, on the requisitions of those Officers.

The present Situation of that department is delicate and critical and the Choice of an Officer to the command may involve very interesting and important Consequences.

It is certainly necessary that a Body of Militia should be immediately called out, to reinforce the northern Army. In the conference, which your Committee honored me with Yesterday Evening, I mentioned the Number which I thought sufficient. But my opinion on this point and the apportioning them to the different States, I wish to submit to Congress, who can best determine the Quotas that should come from each. I would only observe that Connecticut and New York are already and may be called on again to afford succours to the Army at Peekskill. I have the honor etc.[15]

To COLONEL ELIAS DAYTON

Philadelphia, August 3, 1777.

Sir: The conduct of the Enemy is distressing and difficult to be understood. Since my last, directing you to proceed to Peeks Kill, their Fleet, or a pretty considerable part of it, has appeared off the Capes of Delaware, as we were advised yesterday by Express. In this state of uncertainty about their real object and design, I think it advisable, that you should halt your own and Colo. Ogdon's Regiments where this Letter reaches you and there remain till further orders from me, unless you should receive

[15] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The letter was read in Congress August 4 and "Ordered to be taken into consideration at 1 oClock." James Lovell wrote to William Whipple (August 4) the result of this consideration: "New York pushed for a reference to General W—— as to the successor of Schuyler, intending and attempting to prevent G—— from being sent; but it was referred back to us and we were 11 to 1 which is far from 5 to 4, and 2 divided." (See Burnett's *Letters of Members of Congress*, vol. 2, p. 437.) Washington was directed (August 4) to order Gates to the Northern Department to take the place of Schuyler.

authentic intelligence of the Fleets coming within Sandy Hook or going farther to the Eastward; in which case, you will proceed immediately to Peeks Kill, with all the expedition you can. You will hold yourself and every thing in readiness to march on the most Sudden emergency.

If the Fleet make their appearance in Delaware, I shall inform you by express and how you are to act. Without this, you will not advance towards this place.

While you halt, you will take every measure for refreshing your Men and rendering them as comfortable as you can. Bathing themselves moderately and washing their Clothes are of infinite Service. Wherever you may march to, the first object, after your arrival should be to clean your Arms, and to have 'em put immediately in the best possible fix. I am etc.[16]

CIRCULAR TO THE STATES[17]

Philadelphia, August 4, 1777.

Sir: The great expence and loss of time, that has attended the Recruiting Service in most of the States, and the little advantage derived from it, has induced Congress to recommend the Executive Powers of each, to adopt certain New Regulations, for promoting this important and essential business, and for taking it intirely out of the hands of the Officers of the Army. The Resolve on this subject, and the regulations recommended, passed on the 31st Ulto. and will, I presume, be transmitted you by the President.[18]

[16] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[17] Sent to the Governors or Legislatures of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.

[18] The plan recommended by Congress was that each State should be divided into districts, a proper person appointed to raise recruits in each district, and all to be under the direction of the State. Security was to be given by each agent for a faithful

I will not urge the expediency of carrying this proceeding into immediate execution; I shall only observe the Necessity is obvious, and that it demands our most active attention. The principal cause of my troubling you at this time, is, to request that, after the persons recommended are appointed in your State, you will be pleased to transmit me their names, their Places of residence, and those designed for the Rendezvous of Recruits and Deserters. As soon as I am advised upon these subjects, I shall recall all the Officers, who are recruiting, and order them forthwith to join their respective Corps. Before I conclude, I would beg leave to mention, that the Success of this interesting Business, in all its parts, will depend much upon a judicious Choice of those who are to be employed in it, and that, I think, the districts should not be too large and extensive. I have the honor etc.[19]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, August 4, 1777.

Sir: You will perceive, by the inclosed Copy of a letter from Congress, that they have destined you to the Command of the Army in the Northern Department and have directed me to order you immediately to repair to that post. I have therefore to desire you will, in persuance of their intention, proceed to the place of your destination, with all the expedition you can, and take upon you the Command of the Northern Army

discharge of his duty, and he was to receive $8 for every able-bodied recruit he should enlist for three years or during the war. The same agent was empowered to take up deserters and allowed $5 for every deserter so taken. The recruits were permitted to join any regiment or company they chose at the time they enlisted it such regiment or company was not already full, and in that case they might choose any other. Washington was directed to call in all the Continental officers then absent on the recruiting service except such as were necessary to receive recruits and march them to the army. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, July 31, 1777.)

[19]The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

accordingly. Wishing you Success and that you may speedily be able to restore the face of affairs in that quarter, I am etc.[20]

To THE NEW YORK COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, Philadelphia, August 4, 1777.

Sir: I have been duly honored by your several favors of the 25th, 27th and 30th of July.

The Misfortune at Ticonderoga, has given a very disagreeable turn to our affairs, and has thrown a gloom upon the happy prospect, which the Campaign, previous to that event, afforded. But I am in great hopes, the ill consequences of it will not continue long to operate; and that the jealousies and alarms, which so sudden and unexpected an event, has produced in the minds of the People, both of your State and to the Eastward, will soon Subside and give Place to the more rational dictates of self-preservation, and a regard to the common good. In fact, the worst effect of that event, is, that it has Served to produce those distrusts and apprehensions; for, if the Matter were cooly and dispassionately considered, there would be found nothing so formidable in Mr. Burgoyne and the force under him, with all his Successes, as to countenance the least degree of despondency; and experience would shew, that even moderate exertions of the States, more immediately interested, would be Sufficient, to check his career, and, perhaps, convert the advantages he has gained, into his ruin. But, while people continue to view what has happened, through the Medium of Suspicion and fear, there is no saying, to what length an enterprising man may push his good fortune. I have the fullest confidence that no endeavours of the Council will be wanted, to bring your State, (with the

[20] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The letter sent, also in Hamilton's writing, is in the New York Historical Society, and differs from the draft in minor particulars only.

distresses of which I am deeply affected) to every effort it is capable of making, in its present mutilated Situation; and, they may rely upon it, no means in my Power Shall be unemployed, to co-operate with them, in the danger that presses upon the State, and, through it, threatens the Continent. If I do not give as effectual Aid as I could wish, to the Northern Army, it is not for want of inclination, nor from being too little impressed with the importance of doing it; It is because the State of affairs in this Quarter will not possibly admit of it. It would be the heighth of impolicy, to weaken ourselves too much here, in order to increase our Strength there; and it must certainly be considered more difficult, as well as of greater moment, to controul the main Army of the Enemy, than an inferior and, I may say, dependent one; for it is pretty obvious, that if Genl. Howe can be completely kept at bay, and prevented effecting his principal purposes, the Successes of Mr. Burgoyne, whatever they may be, must be partial and temporary.

Nothing that I can do shall be wanting, to rouse the Eastern States and excite them to those exertions, which the exigency of our Affairs so urgently demands. I lament, that they have not yet done more; that so few of their Militia have come into the field, and that those few have behaved so inconsistent with the duty they owe their Country, at this critical period. But I have, nevertheless, great reliance upon those States, I know they are capable of powerful efforts, and that their attachment to the cause, notwithstanding they may be a little tardy, will not allow them long to withold their aid, at a time when their own Safety, that of a Sister State, and in a great measure the Safety of the Continent calls for their greatest zeal and activity. I flatter myself, the presence of Generals Lincoln and Arnold, in the Northern Department, will have a happy effect upon them. Those Gentlemen possess much of their Confidence, particularly the former,

than whom there is, perhaps, no man from the State of Massachusetts who enjoys more universal esteem and popularity; and, in addition to that, they may both be considered, as very valuable Officers.

You intimate a wish, that some Assistance could be drawn from the Southern States at this time. But, while things remain in their present posture, and appearances, however illusory they may prove, afford the Strongest reason to keep their force at home, to counteract the Seeming intentions of General Howe, I could neither ask nor expect them, to detach any part of it to the Succour of the Northern States, who are so well able to defend themselves, against the force they now have to oppose.

I hope an exaggerated Idea of the Enemy's force may have no injurious influence on our measures. There is no circumstance I am acquainted with, that induces me to believe General Burgoyne can have more than Six or Seven thousand men;[21] and, if the force left in Canada is so considerable, as the information you send me makes it, he cannot have even so many. The representations of Prisoners and deserters, in this respect, are of little validity; their knowledge is always very limited, and their intention, particularly the former, is very often bad. Beyond what regards the State of their own Companys, no attention is due to what they say. The number of Regiments your informant mentions, agrees with other Accounts, but in the number of men in each Company he gives the establishment, not, I am persuaded, the actual State. The British Army in Canada last Campaign, though they Suffered little by action, must have decreased materially by Sickness and other Casualties; and, if the recruits, both from England and Germany, bore any proportion to those which have reinforced General Howe, the State of

[21] Channing (*History of the United States*, vol. 3, p. 257) states that Burgoyne's force was 6,840 foot and 357 artillerymen. This included the Brunswickers.

their Regiments must be greatly inferior to what your information Supposes. Reasoning by analogy, as far as it will apply, I cannot imagine the British regiments can exceed 250 Men each, fit for the field, or that the foreign troops can amount to much more than 3000 Men.

The appointment of General Clinton to the Government of your State, is an event, that, in itself, gives me great pleasure, and very much abates the regret I should otherwise feel for the loss of his Services in the Military line. That Gentleman's Character is Such, as will make him peculiarly useful at the head of your State, in a Situation so alarming and interesting, as it at present experiences. For the future, agreeably to your desire, I shall direct my applications to him. I have the honor &ca.[22]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Philadelphia, August 4, 1777.

Sir: I have been honored with your letter of the 28th ultimo. I confess the conduct of the enemy is distressing beyond measure, and past our comprehension. On Thursday and Friday last their fleet, consisting of two hundred and twenty-eight sail, were beating off the Capes of Delaware, as if they intended to come in. From this circumstance, nobody doubted but that Philadelphia was the immediate object of their expedition, and that they would commence their operations as soon as possible. They have stood out to sea again, but how far, or where they are going, remains to be known. From their entire command of the water they derive immense advantages, and distress us much by harassing and marching our troops from post to post. I wish we could fix on their destination; in such case I should hope we would be prepared to receive them.

[22] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

I had been advised before that the Northern army had taken post below Fort Edward. I am told by those acquainted with the country, that Fort Edward is not tenable, and that the grounds where the army now is are good and pretty defensible. I hope they will prove so on trial. If Fort Edward was so situated, and the evacuation necessary, though I regret the expense incurred in building the barracks, etc., yet their destruction might be advisable, as otherwise they would have afforded shelter and protection to the enemy. I should be happy, if I could spare the reinforcement of Continental troops which you mention. But it cannot be done. We now feel sensibly the fatal consequences arising from the deficiency in our regiments, and that languor which has but too generally prevailed throughout the States. If the quota of men exacted from the States were complete, we could, with great ease, check the progress of General Burgoyne, and bid defiance to all their armies. I trust, however, though this is not our condition, and though matters do appear somewhat gloomy at present, that a steady perseverance, and our spirited exertions, will put things right again. It behooves every man to turn out and act with vigor at this juncture. Every motive of self-preservation, of liberty, and happiness, has a claim upon our efforts, and requires our aid. Surely the militia do not mean to be supine spectators of their own and their country's ruin. I cannot entertain so ungenerous a thought, and one so unworthy and derogatory of their former characters.

The panic, I flatter myself, is nearly subsided, and I doubt not but they will give the army every possible assistance. The inquiry you mention will certainly be made, and in the course of a short time, I suppose as soon as circumstances will admit it. I have the honor etc.[23]

[23] The text is from Ford.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at Col. Hills, Roxboro,[24] August 4, 1777.

Parole Cambridge. Countersigns Charlestown, Concord.

In the present marching state of the army, every incumbrance proves greatly prejudicial to the service; the multitude of women in particular, especially those who are pregnant, or have children, are a clog upon every movement. The Commander in Chief therefore earnestly recommends it to the officers commanding brigades and corps, to use every reasonable method in their power to get rid of all such as are not absolutely necessary; and the admission or continuance of any, who shall, or may have come to the army since its arrival in Pennsylvania, is positively forbidden, to which point the officers will give particular attention.

A General Court Martial is to sit to morrow, at nine oclock in the morning, at or near Judge Laurence's[25] quarters by Schuylkill falls, for the trial of all such prisoners as shall be brought before them. Col James Wood is appointed president of this court.

The regimental Surgeons are to send all their sick to the general Hospital in Philadelphia.

To JOHN LANGDON[26]

Philadelphia, August 4, 1777.

Sir: Your two favors of the 12th and 17th ult. have been duly received. I am happy in the arrival of the Packet from Nantes after so good a passage. I supposed the accounts transmitted by the Commissioners[27] are of importance, but I am not

[24] Col. Henry Hill's house was in Indian Queen Lane, about 1 mile east of Schuylkill Falls and a mile from Germantown, Pa. His farm was known as Roxborough.

[25] John Lawrence, Judge Advocate General of the Continental Army.

[26] Continental agent for prizes at Portsmouth, N. H.

[27] Commissioners from the United States to France.

yet informed of the particulars. The Captain's intelligence is agreeable, and I wish much to hear it confirmed by a Declaration of War. We have been for some time and still are much embarrassed and distressed respecting the destination of the Enemy's Fleet and their operations. On Thursday and Friday last, two hundred and twenty-eight sail of war were beating off the Capes of the Delaware, they have disappeared again. The advantages they receive from having the command of the water are immense. At the same time that they are transporting thousands from one place to another with the utmost facility and convenience, they keep our imaginations constantly in the field of conjecture as to the point of attack, and our troops marching and countermarching in the disagreeable mood of suspense and uncertainty. I wish we could but fix on their object. Their conduct is really so mysterious that you cannot reason upon it, so as to form any certain conclusion. I am etc.[28]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at Col. Hill's, Roxboro, August 5, 1777.

Parole Alexandria. Countersigns Virginia, Carolina.

The General Court Martial ordered yesterday, is to sit to morrow morning, at nine o'clock, at Palmer's tavern, at Schuylkill falls; and all members must attend without fail. A Serjeant from brigade to attend the court.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Philadelphia, August 5, 1777.

Sir: I have your favor of the 3d, which I should have answered Yesterday but I was down the River visiting the different Posts. The constant demands for Arms and Accoutrements, notwithstanding the great Quantities lately delivered, is a thing so

[28] From a copy in the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

unaccountable, that I think no means should be left untried, to investigate the true Reasons of deficiencies in almost every Corps. The first Step towards this, is to direct the Commissary General of Military Stores, to make out a particular detail of the Arms and Accoutrements delivered to the Continental Army within four or five Month's past, specifying the name of the Officer to whom delivered and to what Corps he belongs. We shall then be able to see, with what propriety an Officer of any particular Regiment calls for a further Supply, by comparing his demand with the number delivered out to him by the Commissary. I wish the Return just mentioned may be made out as quickly as possible.

One great Cause of the Waste and abuse of the public Arms is the want of a Sufficient number of Armourers to attend the Army. If the Smallest matter is amiss in the Lock, the Gun is useless, and if an Armourer is not at hand to repair it, it must be returned into the Store and a New one drawn, or it is thrown aside into a Baggage Waggon and perhaps lost or broken by Carriage. The want of Armourers also gives the Officers a fair Opportunity of attributing many things, which are really owing to their inattention to their Men, to the impossibility of keeping the Arms in order without such persons; And it is no uncommon thing to find Arms returned as defective, upon close inspection, to want only rubbing and cleaning.

It has heretofore been customary for the Commissary to deliver Arms &c. to the order of the Adjt. General. But in our present Situation, where our wants appear to be many and our means Small, I have ordered all the commanding Officers of Corps to make a Return of their deficiencies, and if we cannot Supply them with the whole, we must apportion what we have, among them.

It does not appear that any person has yet undertaken the Business of Supplying the Army with Beer, or Cyder, Vinegar

and Vegitables; but as those things would exceedingly refresh the Troops that now lay at German Town, I beg to know whether they could not be procured for them immediately, by some person appointed by the Board for the present. If only Beer or Cyder and Vinegar was procured, it would not be so material as to Vegitables, for they can purchase them in the Neighbourhood.

I am just favor'd with your Note of this date, by which I perceive that Mr. Butler[29] Chief Armourer is put under my direction; You will oblige me by ordering him to attend upon me that I may see whether he can undertake to supply armourers to follow the Army. I have &c.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have seen Colo Flower, who tells me the Returns are made to Genl Knox. He also has promised to send Mr. Butler to me.[30]

*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Germantown, near Philada., August 5, 1777.

Dear Brother: Your favors of the 21st. of June from Westmoreland, and 10th. ulto. from Fredericksburg, are both to hand. Since Genl. Howes remove from the Jerseys, the Troops under my Command have been more harrassed by Marching, and Counter Marching, than by any thing that has happen'd to them in the course of the Campaign.

After Genl. Howe had Imbarkd his Troops, the presumption that he woud operate upon the North River, to form a junction with General Burgoyne, was so strong, that I removed from Middle Brook to Morristown, and from Morristown to the Clove (a narrow pass leading through the Highlands) about

[29] Thomas Butler.
[30] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

18 Miles from the River. Indeed, upon some pretty strong presumptive evidence, I threw two divisions over the North River. In this Situation we lay till about the 24th. ulto., when, Receiving certain Information that the Fleet had actually Saild from Sandy hook (the outer point of New York harbour) and the concurring Sentiment of every one, (tho I acknowledge my doubts of it were strong,) that Philadelphia was the object, we counter Marchd, and got to Coryells Ferry on the Delaware (abt. 33 Miles above the City) on the 27th. where I lay till I receiv'd Information from Congress that the Enemy were actually at the Capes of Delaware. This brought us in great haste to this place for defence of the City, but in less than 24 hours after our arrival we got Accts. of the disappearance of the Fleet on the 31st; since which nothing having been heard of them, we remain here in a very irksome State of Suspense. Some imagining that they are gone to the Southward, whilst a Majority (in whose opinion upon this occasion I concur) are satisfied they are gone to the Eastward. The fatigue however, and Injury, which Men must Sustain by long Marches in such extreme heat as we have felt for the last five days, must keep us quiet till we hear something of the destination of the Enemy.

I congratulate you very sincerely on the happy passage of my Sister and the rest of your Family, through the Smallpox. Surely the daily Instances which present themselves of the amazing benefits of Inoculation must make converts of the most rigid opposers, and bring on a repeal of that most impolitic Law which restrains it.[31]

Our Affairs at the Northward have taken a turn not more unfortunate, than unexpected; the public Papers will convey

[31]As late as the year 1769 Virginia prohibited by law inoculation against smallpox and imposed a penalty of £1,000 on any person who should import or bring into the colony infectious matter for use in inoculation. (See Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. 8, p. 371.)

every information that I can on this Subject, to these therefore I shall refer, with this addition, that a public enquiry is order'd into the conduct of the Genl. Officers in that department; which will give them an oppertunity of Justifying their conduct, or the publick one of making examples. this however will not retrieve the misfortune; for certain it is, that this affair has cast a dark shade upon a very bright prospect, our Accts. from that Quarter being very gloomy. But some reinforcements being sent up, and some good Officers, it is to be hoped the cloud will, in time, dispel. One thing absolutely necessary, is, that all the Gentlemen, in every State, should exert themselves to have their quota of Troops compleated; for believe me, the whole are most shamefully deficient.

I have, from the first, been among those few who never built much upon a French war. I ever did, and still do think, they never meant more than to give us a kind of underhand assistance; that is, to supply us with Arms &ca. for our Money, and trade; this may indeed, if G. B. has spirit, and strength to resent it, bring on a War; but the declaration, if on either side, must, I am convinced, come from the last mentioned power.

I have taken Colo. P. P. Thornton[32] into my Family as an extra Aid; this, I dare say his own merit, as well as the great worth of his Father, well entitles him to. My love and best wishes are presented to my Sister, and the rest of your Family; and with sincerest Affection believe and be assured, I am, &c.

P. S. Augt. 9th. being disappointed in sendg. of this Letter, I have to add that we have no further Acct. of the Enemys Fleet, and therefore concluding that they are gone to the Eastward we have again turned our Faces that way and shall move slow till we get some acct of it.

[32] Peter Presley Thornton. He had been a cornet in the Third Continental Dragoons.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Philadelphia, August 5, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have duly receiv'd your favor of the 23d. of July. I believe the Evacuation of Tyconderoga has dissatisfied the people in general, nor can I say, that I have as yet heard any reason, which makes such a step appear absolutely necessary to me, however, as a Strict Enquiry into the conduct of the commanding Officers is soon to take place, the public will no doubt be fully satisfied with the Determination of this Court, who will, I dare say, give the world a full and impartial account of the whole proceeding, and condemn or acquit as matters upon the fullest examination will appear to them.

I arrived here three or four days ago, persuaded by the late movements of the Enemy, and many of their ships appearing at these Capes, that they intended an attack on this City; since which their Fleet has stood out to Sea, and we can scarcely form a probable conjecture of their next Design, upon the ships standing to Sea, I halted the Divisions of the Army wherever they happened to be from this to Peeks Kill, so that should their real intentions be to the Eastward, I am in hopes they will not be able to do a great deal of Damage before we can come up with them.

Your Exertions in apprehending and sending back Deserters must have a happy Effect, and I request you will continue them with unremitted Vigilance.

As it is not quite improbable that I may find it necessary to march this Army to the Eastward, I think Major Dawes had better purchase Provision for his Workmen, than draw any collected for our use; your Instructions to him will be accordingly given.

I understand the Persons you speak of are released, and are therefore at liberty to act as they see proper.[33] I am etc.[34]

[MS. H. S.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL FRANCIS NASH

Philadelphia, August 5, 1777.

Sir: Immediately on the receipt of this, you will embark your Brigade with the Artillery belonging to it, and also Colo. Proctors Corps, you are to proceed to Trenton and there wait till you receive further orders. With respect to Waggons, if you have not a Sufficient number for the use of the Brigade, you will make application to Colo. Mifflin, who will furnish you; they are to be ordered to meet you at Trenton, I must recommend it to you to pay strict attention to the quantity of baggage, that will be carried both by the Officers and Men, too many of whom I have found, have a Superfluous stock; the ill consequence of over loading the men, especially at this Season, and other inconveniences attending it, you must be sensible of, and have only to request your notice of it, and that you will at all times when Marching, and in Camp, do every thing in your Power to prevent your men from injuring the Inhabitants in the least. I am &ca.[35]

To COLONEL GEORGE BAYLOR

Philadelphia, August 5, 1777.

Dear Baylor: I received your favour of the 19th. July and according to your request inclose a warrant on the Pay Master in Virginia for twenty thousand Dollars; I fully expected the sum you had drawn before would have completed your Regiment.

I must urge you in the most pressing terms to use your utmost

[33] Americans taken prisoners at Quebec who had returned home on parole, some of whom wished to reenter the service.

[34] In the writing of John Fitzgerald.

[35] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

exertions and diligence in compleating your Regiment and proceeding with it without loss of time to Camp. I am etc.[36]

To JOHN LAURENS

City Tavern, August 5, 1777.

Sir: Your favour of Yesterday came to my hands late in the Afternoon.

For reasons unnecessary to mention, I mean to delay the actual Appointment of my fourth Aide de Camp a while longer; but if you will do me the honour to become a Member of my Family, you will make me very happy, by your Company and assistance in that Line as an Extra Aid, and I shall be glad to receive you in that capacity whenever it is convenient to you.

For the polite expressions contained in your Letter respecting myself, you will be pleased to accept the sincere thanks of Sir, etc.[37]

To GEORGE WALTON

Camp near Germantown, August 6, 1777.

Sir: I had the Pleasure of your Letter, respecting Genl. McIntosh. You may inform Congress, that one Brigade in this Army is without a General Officer, occasioned by Dehaas's not choosing to accept of that commission and should they think proper to order Genl. McIntosh for that purpose, it would be very agreeable to me,[38] [were it not for the length of time it will take to get him here;] this I apprehend, they will have no great objection to, unless they have some Gentleman in view to fill that Vacancy, or may be of opinion that the Campaign

[36] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.
[37] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.
[38] McIntosh was in Georgia.

will be almost over before he can possibly arrive or be of any Service to us.

I expected an Answer was given to you yesterday and did not know the Contrary until I was leaving Town. I am &ca.[39]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp near Germantown, August 6, 1777.

Sir: I beg leave to be informed, whether Congress have Written or mean to Write themselves to Genls. Schuyler and St Clair,[40] to repair to Head Quarters or whether they expect me to do it. My reason for this is, the Resolves for their recall, transmitted in your favor of the 2d Inst., do not mention how the same should be communicated. I have the honor etc.[41]

To COLONEL ELIAS DAYTON

Camp at Germantown, August 6, 1777.

Sir: You will perceive, by the inclosed, which was wrote a few days ago, that you were ordered to halt, for the Reasons therein given. The letter, by mistake of the express, was carried up the Morris Town road, and as you were not to be heard of upon that route, it was brought back.

As we are still under the same uncertainty, as to the destination of the Fleet, that we were when the inclosed was wrote, you are to halt wherever this overtakes you, and let me know by return of the express where it is. You are, as before directed, to march to Peeks Kill upon receiving authentic intelligence that the Fleet have again arrived at the Hook or any where upon the Coast of New England. I am etc.[42]

[39] In the writing of John Fitzgerald. Phrase in brackets inserted by Washington.
[40] Congress informed Schuyler and St. Clair of its action.
[41] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[42] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, Camp Near Germantown,
August 6, 1777.

Sir: As Col: Malmadi[43] is desirous of serving under you in the Northern department, I am to signify to you that he has my permission for that purpose; and I shall be glad he may be employed in the manner, circumstances will best permit. I am.[44]

[N.Y.H.S.]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Roxboro, August 6, 1777.

Parole Congress. Countersigns Franklin, Deane.

A board of General Officers, consisting of all the Major and Brigadier Generals in camp, is to sit to morrow at ten o'clock in the forenoon, at General Stephens's quarters, at Dr. Smith's house[45] near Schuylkill falls—to make enquiry why the pay abstracts are not regularly made out, and lodged with the Pay Master General, according to orders—The pay Abstracts of every regiment and corps in the army, for the month of July, and any time preceding that month, for which they have not been made out, are to be completed and delivered to the Pay Master General by Monday next. The officers commanding regiments and corps will be answerable for the execution of this order: And every officer, who does not deliver in his abstract, punctually by the time above assigned, may depend on being arrested, and tried for disobedience of orders; unless there are reasons, which may render it impracticable, to any to make out and deliver their abstracts by that time, and in that case,

[43] François, Marquis de Malmedy, was appointed a colonel in the Continental Army by Congress.

[44] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[45] Rev. William Smith, the first provost of the College of Pennsylvania. His house was between Indian Lane and the Ridge Road.

they are to appear to morrow, and lay those reasons before the above mentioned board of General Officers; if they do not, it will be taken for granted that no such reasons exist.

Joseph Ward Esqr., Commissary General of Musters, will attend the same board, to assign the reasons, why the regiments and corps of the army, have not been more generally mustered.

As the time is uncertain, when the army may march but may be very soon and sudden; all officers, and soldiers, are to keep near their quarters; and such officers as have had leave to go to Philadelphia, are to return, and none be permitted to go thither, but upon really necessary business, which being finished, they are immediately to join their respective corps.

Whenever the army moves, it will probably be necessary, that it march with the utmost celerity—the tents therefore, agreeably to former orders, are to be loaded in waggons by themselves, and in such manner, that they may, without difficulty, keep up with the troops: For the same reason, the officers will take with them, only a few articles of cloathing, such as shall be indispensibly necessary, leaving the bulk of their baggage to be brought on after them, and in order to facilitate the march, the Quarter Master General is to provide so many waggons as shall be necessary to carry the men's packs: But these packs are not to be stuffed with loads of useless trumpery, as from the sizes of many, there is great reason to suppose is now the case, and the officers are to see that they are not; for which purpose, the Commander in Chief most earnestly desires and expects, that the officers particularly inspect the packs of their men, and select only such articles as are necessary and useful: All the rest (each mans being rolled up by itself) is to be collected by the Quarter Masters of the regiments, and by them deposited in proper places, to be provided by the Quarter Master General.

Pursuant to a resolve of Congress of the 16th. of July last, the officers commanding regiments and corps are directed, that in

case they have any Serjeants, Corporals, Drummers or Private men, deemed incapable of doing field duty, such men should be examined by the Director General of the hospital, or some other Physician or Surgeon; and if judged fit for garrison duty, they are not to be discharged, but transferred to the Invalid Corps, and sent to Philadelphia as soon as possible. Men having only one leg, or one arm each, if otherwise capable of doing garrison duty, are to be deemed proper recruits for this corps.

A General Court Martial of the light dragoons is to sit to morrow morning at nine o'clock, at Lush's tavern, in Germantown, for the trial of all prisoners belonging to any of the corps of light dragoons, which shall be brought before them. Col. Sheldon is appointed president of this court—Col. Moylan will direct the several quotas of officers for members which the different corps of horse are to furnish; And the Judge Advocate General will appoint a deputy to attend the court. The appointment of Col Sheldon, to be president of this court, is to have no influence, in determining the question of rank between him and Col. Bland.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Roxboro, August 7, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

At a General Court Martial held the 18th and 19th days of July last, the following soldiers were tried for various crimes, and acquitted—viz.

Timothy Brannon and William Smith of the 6th. Maryland regiment; William Foster and Adam Brooks of the 10th Virginia; Isaac Proctor of the 15th. Virginia; Richard Roach of the 4th. Pennsylvania and William Montgomery of Col. Spencer's Regiment.

Joseph Halbert, Serjeant in the 5th. Pennsylvania regiment was tried for "Desertion"; but it appeared to the Court, that

he was intitled to the benefit of the pardon granted by the Commander in Chief previous to the execution of Thomas Smith, who was shot at Middlebrook.

At the same court the following Soldiers were tried for various crimes and found guilty—Vizt.—James McClaster, James Scott, Daniel McKay, James Montgomery, John Montgomery of Col Stewart's regiment; Alexander McKinley of the 9th. Pennsylv: regiment; John Morgan, Morris McKinsey, Daniel Smith and William Gammon, of Col. Spencer's regiment; David Potts of the 11th. Pennsylvania regt.; John Potts and Jeremiah Goldsberry of the 11th. Virginia; John Striser of Capt. Bayles[46] company in one of the Maryland Regiments; George Fant of the 8th. Virginia and John Annes of the 2nd. New Jersey Regiment. But The Commander in Chief grieved at the number of offenders; ever desireous of shewing mercy, where it is not incompatable with the public good and hoping that his clemency may hereafter have a happy tendency to reclaim the guilty; was pleased to grant a general pardon, and the offenders convicted as aforesaid, are hereby declared to be pardoned.

The following sentences of the same court martial are approved by the Commander in Chief, viz.

Capt. Friesback of Col. Armand's corps, charged 1st. with "Absenting himself without leave; 2nd. When being ordered to join his company when under arms, answer'd, he had time enough, and declined doing it; 3rd. When being put under arrest, made use of bad language, and treated his Colonel in a manner unbecoming an officer; 4th. When the corps was ordered to march into Amboy, he uttered discontent loudly before the soldiers, and wanted to know why they were returning

[46] Capt. Montjoy Bailey, of the Seventh Maryland Regiment. He resigned in September, 1778.

to Amboy." Acquitted of the first, and found guilty of the second, third and fourth charges, and sentenced to be reprimanded in General orders, and to ask pardon of Col Armand in the presence of the officers of his corps.

The Commander in Chief wishes all officers to be impressed with this truth, that nothing is more essential in military service than an exact subordination, and ready obedience to the commands of superior officers; that it is this which gives life and vigour to an army: that a contrary conduct must clog and impede every movement, and excite a spirit of discontent, disobedience and licentiousness among the troops; that in this view, the conduct of Capt. Friesback must be deemed highly criminal, and of a very dangerous tendency.

Capt. Clark,[47] Lieut. Higgins[48] and Lieut. Kinley[49] of the 8th. Virginia regiment and Capt. Langdon[50] of the 12th Virginia regt. charged severally with "Neglect of duty, in not having their men's arms in good order, and with disobedience of the General orders, relating thereto." Acquitted.

Capt. Berry,[51] Lieut. Myers[52] and Ensign Westfall,[53] of the 8th. Virginia regiment; Capt. Brent[54] and Lieut. Smith[55] of the 4th. Virginia regt. charged severally with "Neglect of duty, in not having their men's arms in good order, and with

[47] Capt. Jonathan Clark. He was promoted to major of the Twelfth Virginia Regiment in January, 1778; lieutenant colonel in May, 1779; taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780; prisoner on parole to end of the war.

[48] Lieut. Robert Higgins. He was taken prisoner at Germantown in October, 1777; was captain of the Eighth Virginia Regiment and transferred to the Second Virginia Regiment in February, 1781; brevet major in September, 1783.

[49] Lieut. Benjamin Kinley. He was wounded at Germantown in October, 1777; retired in September, 1778; was captain of a Virginia State regiment from 1778 to 1781.

[50] Capt. Jonathan Langdon. He resigned in September, 1778.

[51] Capt. Thomas Berry. He retired in September, 1778.

[52] Lieut. Christopher Myer. He was transferred to the Fourth Virginia Regiment in September, 1778; resigned in March, 1779.

[53] Ensign Cornelius Westfall. He resigned in April, 1778.

[54] Capt. John Brent. He was promoted to major in October, 1777; resigned in May, 1778.

[55] Lieut. John Smith. He resigned in May, 1778.

disobedience of the General orders relating thereto, found guilty and sentenced to be (Lieuts. Myers and Smith *severely*) reprimanded in general orders.

The Commander in Chief cannot forbear to express his astonishment, at the carelessness of officers, in a point of such capital importance, as this now mentioned; and that this carelessness too should take place, after repeated and most particular orders, recently given, to have the arms thoroughly cleaned and put in the best order; seeing their own personal safety; that of the army and of the country, depends on the efficacy of the men's arms; 'tis truely surprising, that officers can rest easy for one hour, when there is the smallest probability that they are unfit for immediate action, whether orders for examining and cleaning them be given or not; For 'tis a duty so obvious, that the officers of regiments and companies should see to it themselves, at all times, and not oblige the Commander in Chief to attend to every circumstance that regards each particular corps.

The Brigade Commissaries are to attend this afternoon, at five o'clock, at the market house in Germantown, to draw a gill of Vinegar a man for their respective brigades.

The commanding officers of regiments are to consult with the other field officers, and captains of companies belonging to their regiments, on what allowance of soap is absolutely necessary, with proper œconomy, to keep the soldiery clean; a report of their opinion, to be made immediately, to the board of General Officers, to sit to day agreeable to yesterday's orders; who are to take the matter into consideration, and report their opinion of the same.

The waggons, with the heavy baggage of all the brigades, are immediately to proceed to Coryell's-ferry, and cross, and wait on the other side for further orders.

Each brigade is to send a small guard, with their own waggons, under proper officers; the whole to be under the command of a field officer.

The waggons are to move in the following order. Those of Lord Stirling's division first; General Lincoln's next; Genl. Stephens' next and Genl. Greene's last.

The boats are also to move on at the same time. The Forage Master General will take care that *forage* is provided for the teams, upon the march, and at the ferry.

The troops of the whole line are to be in readiness to be reviewed to morrow morning at five o'clock; when it is expected every officer and soldier not on other duty, and able, will attend. The troops are to be drawn up on the respective brigade parades. It is expected that all the waggoners, waggons and teams, which will remain in camp, will all be in their proper places; that an inspection may be had into the condition thereof. This the waggon master General will take care to see complied with.

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, August 7, 1777.

Sir: Monsieur Le Chevaliers Du Bouchet,[56] who has a commission of Captain in the American army, has requested permission to serve under you in the Northern department, which I have accordingly given him; and I shall be glad as far as circumstances will permit, that he may be employed in a manner useful to the service and agreeable to himself. I am, etc.[57]

[N.Y.H.S.]

[56] Denis Jean Florimond Langlois, Marquis Du Bouchet. Gates promoted him to the rank of major. He became, later, colonel and deputy adjutant general of the French Army in America.

[57] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Camp near German Town, August 7, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your favour of the 1st. instant, I received last Night; those of the 26th and 28th. Ulto. also came safe to hand and in due order. As Congress have advised you of their inclination that you should come to Head Quarters, and as it is probable you will be on your way before this reaches you, I presume it unnecessary for me to enlarge upon the subject of your Several Letters, or to add more at this time than that, I am etc.[58]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Camp at German Town, August 7, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have your favour of the 4th. instant. We are yet intirely in the dark as to the destination of the Enemy, the Fleet has neither been seen or heard of since they left the Capes of Delaware, on this day week. If they had intended back to the Hook, we must have heard of their arrival there long before this time, as the Winds have been constantly fair. As the Sickly season has commenced to the Southward, and there is no capital object there, I cannot conceive that they are gone that way. I can therefore only conclude, that they intend to go round Long Island into the Sound, or still farther Eastward. If they do either of these, it must be upon a plan of co-operating with Genl. Burgoyne, who, as matters are going on, will find little difficulty of penetrating to Albany, for by the last accounts, our Army had fallen down to Saratoga. Congress have thought proper to call down Genl. Schuyler and Genl. St. Clair, to give an account of the Causes of our Misfortunes to the Northward and Genl. Gates goes up to take the Command. Genl. Schuyler urges the necessity of further Reinforcements, alledging that he derives no assistance from the Militia. Your post is the only

[58] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

one from whence a Reinforcement can immediately be sent, but as I would not wish to weaken you, as the Enemy seem to bend their course again towards you, without consulting you; I desire that you and the General Officers would consider the Matter fully, and if you think you can spare Cortland's and Livingston's Regiments, that they may be put in readiness to move. I have ordered the heavy baggage of the Army to be thrown over Delaware again and hold the Men in constant readiness to march the moment we receive any accounts of the Enemy. I very much approve of your throwing Redoubts and Obstructions at the entrance of the passes near your posts, as they, with the natural Strength of the Ground, must render the approach of an Enemy extremely difficult without considerable loss. I am etc.[59]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp near Germantown, August 7, 1777.

Sir: Yesterday evening, I received a Letter from Genl Schuyler[60] of the 1st Inst. a copy of which and of its Inclosures, I do myself the honor of transmitting you. By these you will perceive, that our affairs, at the Northward, have experienced no change for the better; On the contrary, that they are in a more unpromising train. I have the honor etc.[61]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, Roxboro, August 8, 1777.

Parole Germantown. Countersigns Roxboro, Hill.

The morning being foggy and dewy, the Brigadiers will postpone parading their brigades 'till six o'clock and longer if necessary, 'till the fog and dew are chiefly dissipated.

[59] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[60] Schuyler's letter of August 1 told of the panicky condition of the troops, Col. Seth Warner's weakness, the British advance, and Maj. Gen. Benedict Arnold's request for permission to retire on account of rank. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[61] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

At two o'clock P. M. the army is to march to a new encampment, about miles from hence, on the way to Coryell's ferry, at the ground appointed by the Quarter Master General.

Col. Moylan will leave proper detachments of horse, as has already been proposed to him, to search all houses in the neighbourhood of the late encampment, and on the roads towards Philadelphia, for all straggling soldiers, whom they will secure. And to morrow morning he will move forward, to join the main army, previously making application to the Quarter Master General and Commissary General of forage, for direction as to the ground, that such a post may be taken, as shall be most convenient for the army, and getting a supply of forage.[62]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp near German Town, August 9, 1777.

Sir: Inclosed you will be pleased to receive Copies of Two Letters and other papers which just now came to hand by different Expresses.[63] Genl. Heath's Letter of the 2d. Instant seems to make the intelligence respecting the Fleet which he had obtained before, vague, if not entirely ill founded. I have the honor, etc.[64]

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Camp near Germantown, August 9, 1777.

Sir: I am this moment favor'd with your Letter of yesterday, covering a Complaint of William McIlvaine Esqr. against Major or Captain Sims.[65] The Corps to which he belongs is at present in Trenton. I shall take the first opportunity of having

[62] At this point in the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress is the note: "Original Orders lost up to the 13th instant."

[63] Letters from General Heath of August 1 and 2 and one from the Massachusetts Council of August 1, advising that a fleet was off the coast. The information was purely imaginary.

[64] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[65] Maj. Charles Simms(?), of the Twelfth Virginia Regiment.

this matter strictly enquired into, and if Sims is found guilty of the charge, he shall make such satisfaction, as Mr. McIlvaine will deem sufficient, or (in case of his refusing so to do) he shall become amenable to the Powers of Civil Law in such Manner as it directs. I have the honor etc.[66]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Sunday Evening, 9 OClock, August 9, 1777.

Sir: I this Minute received your favor of this Afternoon transmitting intelligence that a Fleet was seen off Sinapuxon on the 7th. Inst. I was about three Miles Eastward of the Billet Tavern, on the Road leading to Coriels ferry when the Express arrived. The Troops are encamped near the Road, where they will remain till I have further Accounts respecting the Fleet, which you will be pleased to forward to me by the earliest conveyance after they come to hand. I have the honor, etc.[67]

To COLONEL DANIEL MORGAN

Camp near German Town, August 9, 1777.

Sir: You will march to morrow morning the Corps under your Command for Maidenhead in the State of Jersey and there halt till you receive further Orders. You will take every possible care in your power, as well in your march, as during your stay at that place, to restrain every Species of licentiousness in the Soldiery and to prevent them doing the least injury to the Inhabitants or their property, as nothing can be more disserviceable to our cause, or more unworthy the character we possess, to say nothing of the injustice of the measure. I am etc.[68]

[66] In the writing of John Fitzgerald. From the collection of Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J., to whose kindness the editor is indebted.

[67] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[68] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, which is in the New York Public Library, is also in Harrison's writing, and varies from the above in capitalization.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp near German Town, August 9, 1777.

Sir: I have been duly honored with your Letter of Yesterday and with its Inclosures. I shall pay attention to the Resolves transmitted, and as soon as circumstances admit, shall propose to Genl Howe an Exchange between Lt. Colo. Campbell and the Hessian Field Officers and a like number of Ours of equal rank in his Hands.

I would beg leave to lay before Congress a Copy of a Report made by a Board of Genl. Officers held on the 7th Inst to consult of several Matters respecting the Army. In the course of their deliberation, they took into consideration the subject reported. I shall only add, that this matter has been long complained of by the Officers, and the more so, as the Indulgence they pray could not nor can be ever attended with the least possible injury to the Public, and is what, I believe, is allowed, in most Armies. Congress I am persuaded, will give it their attention, and if no good objections of a Public Nature appear against the Measure, will grant what the Officers wish and the Board have recommended.[69]

I perceive by the Resolutions of the 30th Ulto. and 1st Inst. for recalling Genls. Schuyler and St. Clair, that they are directed to repair to Head Quarters. I also find, that a Committee had been resolved on, to digest a mode for enquiring into the Reasons for evacuating Tyconderoga and Mount Independence, and into the conduct of the General Officers in the Northern

[69] This was a representation by the regimental officers regarding their ration issue. The original, dated August 7, is in the *Washington Papers*. It was read in Congress (August 11) and referred to James Wilson, Jonathan Bayard Smith, and William Smith. The matter was settled by the resolves of September 11. Washington's letter also inclosed the report of a board of general officers (August 7) on the Wagonmaster General's Department, soap allowance, and clothing. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

department at the time of the evacuation. As these Gentlemen have received the Letter upon this Subject by this time, and will probably be down in the course of a few days, I shall be glad to be informed what I am to do with them when they arrive. I may be then at a great distance from this, and in such case, should be at a loss what to say or how to conduct myself respecting them, without receiving some directions, which I request to be favoured with by the earliest Opportunity. I have the Honor &ca.[70]

To SAMUEL WASHINGTON

Germantown near Philadelphia, August 10, 1777.

Dear Brothr: Your letter by Capt. Rice, without date came to my hand last night. Where my last was dated, or from whence, I cannot at this time recollect; but with truth can assure, that it is not owing to a want of Inclination that you do not hear from me oftener, nor is it altogether to be ascribed to the hurry of business in which I am immerc'd: but to your living out of the Post Road, and my want of knowledge of accidental or Casual Conveyance.

I most sincerely condole with you on your late loss;[71] and doubt not your feeling it in the most sensible manner; nor do I expect that human Fortitude, and reason, can so far overcome natural affection, as to enable us to look with calmness upon losses wh. distress us altho they are acts of Providence, and in themselves unavoidable, yet acquiescence to the divine will is not only a duty, but is to be aided by every manly exertion to forget the causes of such uneasiness.

Thornton's inclination to go into the army is I think commendable, if you have given him all the education intended;

[70] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[71] Of his wife.

but why (as Genl. Woodford informs me) do you want to send him as a volunteer when he had a Comn. promised him in Colo. Thruston's Regiment. The only end in view (except with people of very great fortune, who do not choose to be under any restraint) by serving as volunteers is to obtain commissions; why then he should refuse a commission and come out as a volunteer I cannot conceive.

The Saddle and Bridle which Thornton carried away, and which I thought belonged to Mr. Johnston, is found upon an enquiry, to belong to myself; having just recd. a new one upon a different construction, this by mistake, was given, and therefore you are very welcome to detain it as a present from me.

Since General Howes evacuation of the Jerseys, the Troops under my command have been more harrassed by marching and countermarching than by anything which has happened to them since the opening of the Spring Campaign.

After Genl Howe had Imbarked his Army the presumption that he would operate upon the North River, to form a junction with Genl. Burgoyne was so strong, that I movd my Force toward that River, and actually threw two divisions of the army across it, and in this situation lay till the 24 ulto., where receiving certain advice that the enemys Fleet had sailed from the Harbor of New York, and was generally believed to be destined for Philadelphia, I countermarched the Troops in order to defend the City and got within 30 miles of it when Expresses from the Capes announced the arrival of the Fleet; but by the time they got to this place other Expresses gave information of the disappearance of it on the 31st Ulto., since wch. we have remained in the most perfect ignorance, and disagreeable state of Suspence, respecting their designs, but being fully convinced in my own judgment, that they are bound to the Eastward of this we are upon the move (by slow and easy marches) back again till we can learn something certain of their destination.

Our Affairs in the Northern department have taken a turn not more unfortunate than unexpected. The papers which I presume you get, will convey ev'y Information that I can on this Subject, to them then I refer, an inquiry wich is ordered to be made into the conduct of the officers who commanded there will illucidate matters and acquit them of crimes laid to their charge or point them out as objects of Public desertions this lesson will not retrieve the misfortune for certain it is this affair has cast a dark shade upon a very bright prospect; our accts. from that Quarter being exceedingly gloomy; but it is to be hoped that new Officers [[72]] which are gone up in a little time will dispel the cloud which at present overhelms that northern hemisphere.

With the sincerest affection and regard, I remain yrs.[73]

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Head Qurs., Camp near Philada., August 10, 1777.

Dear Sir: I received Yesterday your favour of the 4th. I am greatly concerned at the rapid progress of Mr. Burgoyne's Army. I shall not enlarge at this time for the Reasons mentioned in my last and as it is more than probable this will meet you on your way to Head Quarters. I am etc.[74]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Qurs., near German Town, August 10, 1777.

Dear Sir: I was yesterday favoured with yours of the 1st. and 2d. instant. I am convinced if any Ships appeared off your Coast at the time you mention, that they could not have been the Fleet that sailed from the Hook, because *they* were off the Capes of

[72] Manuscript illegible.

[73] From a copy, in the writing of Lawrence Washington, in the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

[74] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

Delaware just at that time. But I think it more than probable that you will have heard something of the Enemy before this reaches you. We have not received the least intelligence of them since they left the Capes of Delaware last Thursday was a week. Had they returned to the Hook, they must have arrived there many days ago, as the Winds have been constantly fair. The Season of the year is not only against their going Southward; but there is no object there worth their attention, and it would be leaving Genl. Burgoyne to make Head against the whole Eastern Force and the Continental Army up the North River. My opinion therefore is, that they intend either to go round the East end of Long Island into the Sound and land in Connecticut, or stand more Eastward and make a descent upon Rhode Island or some where in Massachusetts, from either of which places they may attempt to penetrate and form a junction with Genl. Burgoyne, who is pushing down the North River with scarce any opposition.

Be the place of Genl. Howe's destination where it may, it will be impossible for the Army to be up time enough to prevent his making good his landing, but I think it will be a considerable time before he can complete his debarkation and get all things in readiness to march into the Country. I therefore must depend upon the most spirited exertions of the Militia, to give him every opposition and endeavour to retard his progress till the Continental Army can come up. That I may reach the North River quickly (should there be occasion), I have ordered this Army with all their baggage &ca. to return to the East side of Delaware. As the Garrison of Peekskill have not been upon fatigue, they will be able to march forward rapidly, while the Troops that take their places, refresh and rest themselves. As I am informed that the whole Country between the Coast and the North River, is rough and defensible, I am in hopes that we

shall be able to take such a position, as with our joint forces, will prevent a junction of the two Armies of the Enemy should they attempt it. Should a descent be made, it will be necessary to remove all Teams and provision out of their way, as quick as possible; the Teams especially, as I am convinced General Howe will be in great want of draft Cattle, as his own must be much reduced, from the length of time which they have been on Board. I am etc.

P. S. 11th. Augt. An express overtook me last night with an Account that the Fleet were seen the 7th. instant off Sinepuxent 16 leagues to the southward of the Capes of Delaware. I have therefore halted till I have further intelligence.[75] [MS. H. S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Qurs. near German Town, August 10, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am this day favoured with your letter of 7th. Instt. I am happy to hear that you are so far recovered, as to be able to join your Division, and expect the Regimen you propose to follow will effectually remove all your Complaints.

I have repeatedly wrote to the Clothier General respecting the Articles of his Department, particularly Shoes, and have ordered him to search the Continent, rather than let the Troops want in future. I have been informed that your Division has lately had a supply and that Colo. Antill and Major Steward were lately in Philadelphia for more, which I expected they had obtained and would be sufficient.

As the Troops are now on their March to the Delaware, it will be in your power, without any great inconvenience, to issue orders for your paymasters to come on, with their Abstracts ready Certified &ca. that they may be paid off to the last of July.

[75] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Since the Fleet disappeared off Delaware, I have not been able to obtain the least intelligence of their Course or design, but, being almost persuaded their Operations are turned to the Eastward, I shall cross Delaware with the Army, that we may be more ready to meet them, or effect any other purpose which may present itself in a favourable light.

You will observe, in one of my Letters to Genl. D'Borre, he is ordered, in case the Enemy should appear off the Hook or in such manner, that their designs are evident to be up the North River or Sound, he should, under such Circumstances, recross the North River and join Genl. Putnam without waiting to hear from me.

From the Representation made to me respecting Brown and Murphy,[76] I then thought that it became necessary to execute one of them by way of Example, but as you are of Opinion that the necessity is in some degree removed, and from late discoveries, that there is a possibility of their not being guilty, you have my free consent to pardon them both, as it is my most sincere wish, that whenever we are guilty of an Error in matters of this Nature, it may be on the Side of Mercy and forgiveness.

If Major Mullen will make such Concessions to Genl. D'Borré as you deem sufficient and will be Satisfactory to him, and that he will give you Reason to beleive that he will in future be sober and attentive to his duty. I have not the least objection to your Reinstating him.

I have attended to the Information you received from the Deserters, but am of opinion that few or no Officers in Genl. Howe's Army knew his real designs before he left New York.

I would in future call your attention, in the most particular manner, to find out the Numbers, Situation and Posts of the Enemy on Staten Island, Long Island and New York. Your

[76] Daniel Brown and John Murphy.

surest method to effect this, will be to find out what Corps, Regiments &ca. are at such and such places, by which you will be able to form a much better Judgment of their Numbers, than from the rough guess of Spies or Deserters, who are always exceedingly Mistaken in Calculations of this kind; this I would wish to be done in such a manner and interwoven with other Queries, so as to avoid Suspicion of your real design, and when any accounts can be collected which you think may be depended on, or may serve to give me a tolerable Idea of their strength, Situation &ca., they may be communicated to me. I am etc.[77]

To COLONEL DANIEL MORGAN

Camp at the Cross Roads, Bucks County,
Sunday, 10 o'clock P. M., August 10, 1777.

Sir: I have just recd an Express from Philada informing me that a large Fleet was seen off Sinepuxent Inlet on the 7th inst. You are therefore desired to halt wherever this finds you, and wait till we hear further of this matter. Let me know by Return of the Express where you are, that I may know how to direct for when I have occasion to send you Orders. I am, etc.

P. S. By ordering you to halt where this shall find you, I mean upon the most convenient ground near the place.[78]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Camp near German Town,
August 10, 1777.

Sir: The disappearance of the Enemy's Fleet for so many days, rendering it rather improbable that they will again return, I have thought it advisable to remove the Army back to

[77] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.
[78] The text is from the *Magazine of American History*, vol. 7, p. 137.

Coryels, where it will be near enough to succour Philadelphia, should the Enemy, contrary to appearances, still make that the object of their next operations; and will be so much more conveniently situated to proceed to the Northward, should the event of the present ambiguous and perplexing situation of things call them that way. I was the more inclined to this step, as the nearness of the Army to the city, beside other disadvantages, afforded a temptation both to Officers and Men, to indulge themselves in licenses inconsistent with discipline and order, and consequently of a very injurious tendency.

But before my departure, I esteem it my duty to communicate to Congress the result of my examination into the nature of the River defence, proper to be adopted, according to the means in our possession, to prevent the Success of any attempt upon Philadelphia, by water. I therefore beg leave to lay before Congress what appears to me most eligible, considering all circumstances and comparing my own observations, with the different opinions of the Gentlemen, whom I consulted on the occasion.

It is generally a well-founded Maxim, that we ought to endeavour to reduce our defence, as much as possible, to a certainty, by collecting our Strength and making all our preparations at one point, rather than to risk its being weak and ineffectual every where, by dividing our attention and force to different objects. In doing this, we may disable ourselves from acting with sufficient vigor any where, and a misfortune in one place, may pave the way for a similar one in another. In our circumstances we have neither men, cannon, nor any thing else to spare, and perhaps cannot with propriety hazard them on objects, which being attended with the greatest success, we can promise ourselves, can be productive of only partial and indecisive advantages, and which may possibly fail of the end

proposed, may have some serious ill-consequences, and must at all events have some disadvantages.

It is then to be considered, where our defence can be most effectually made; whether at Bilingsport, or at Fort Island. It appears to me, that the last deserves greatly the preference. Bilingsport has but one row of Chevaux de frize, Fort Island has three, and in addition to them, a boom and another chevaux de frize, ready to be sunk in the channel, on the approach of the enemy; of course the obstructions in this respect are four times as great at the one as at the other. The Gallies and floating batteries, that could be brought for the defence of the chevaux de frize at Bilingsport, would be unable to Maintain their Station, when once the enemy were in possession of the commanding ground on the Jersey side, to which they would be intirely exposed, and notwithstanding the works raising there, even supposing them complete, the strongest advocates for making our defence in this place, do not pretend that the event can be protracted, more than fifteen or twenty days at most; at the end of which time, we should be obliged, with the loss of our cannon at least to abandon the defence, and leave it in the Power of the enemy to remove or destroy the chevaux de frize at pleasure. Nor is it by any means certain, that a single row of chevaux de frize would be an impenetrable barrier to the enemys ships. Experiments have been made, that lead to a contrary supposition, and if they should hazard one, which it might be worth their while to do, with some of their less valuable Ships, under favour of a leading breeze and tide, and should succeed in it; the consequence might be the loss of our gallies and floating batteries, which I apprehend might be intercepted; and with the assistance of their gallies and small armed vessels, taken, and would greatly weaken the opposition we might otherwise give, at Fort Island, and tend powerfully

to render it abortive. But if they should not attempt this, contenting themselves with safer tho' slower operations, I have already observed, that it is agreed on all hands, in fifteen or twenty days, they would be able to possess themselves, of infallible means of frustrating our opposition there, by the capture of our works; and if we add to this, that it might very possibly happen in less time; if from no other cause, yet from the garrison being intimidated, by a consciousness of its own inferiority and inability to support itself, against a so much superior force of numbers, which might occasion a conduct destructive to itself, there will remain no sufficient reasons to justify the making this the principal point of defence.

At Fort Island the boom and chevaux de frize are an ample security against any forcible impression of the enemy's ships, which it would be imprudent in them to attempt. On the Jersey Side, the situation of the grounds is such, that the gallies, floating batteries and forts employed in the defence of the obstructions, would have little to fear from any batteries erected there. Red Bank seems, by its elevation, to be the only advantageous spot for annoying them; but as it is computed to be above 1900 Yards from Fort Island, the distance is rather too great to allow any battery, raised there, to act with so much effect as to be able to silence our fire. On this side, the ground by dykes and sluices may be laid under water, to so considerable an extent, as to leave no danger of our River force being annoyed from thence; for which purpose, suitable preparations ought at once to be made against it may be necessary to carry them into effect.

But tho' a Battery upon Red-bank would not, in my apprehensions, be able to prevent the efficacy of our defence or give any material disturbances to Fort Island in particular, yet it might serve to make the situation of some of our gallies rather

uneasy, and this perhaps makes it worth while to pre-occupy it, in order to keep it out of the Enemy's hands, erecting a small but strong work there, capable of containing about two hundred Men with six or eight pieces of light cannon, and a proportionable quantity of stores. As the approaches to it are difficult, on account of the adjacent creeks and a communication can be kept open, between it and our army, by which means the garrison might receive succours from time to time, though we could not expect to make it impregnable, yet we should have a prospect of holding it much longer than we could the work at Bilingsport. In the position, which from my present view of it, I should think it best for our Army to take, the left wing of it would be nearly opposite to Red-bank, and therefore in a condition to releive and support it; whereas Bilingsport, being more remote, from the probable position of the army and detached from any other work, could not easily derive any assistance from without, and must rely wholly upon its own strength.

Either at Bilingsport or at Fort Island, I beleive, there is not much to be apprehended from the fire of the enemy's ships unaided by land batteries: For as by the information of those who ought to be acquainted with the fact, not more than three ships can act abreast at a time, at either place; and as the gallies, not requiring the same depth of water, can extend themselves at pleasure, and besides carry a superior weight of Metal to that which frigates commonly have, a much superior fire could be opposed to them, than any they could bring; and from the difference of size and make between the frigates and gallies, to much better effect than theirs. The comparative extent of the River at Bilingsport and at Fort Island has been assigned as a motive of preference to the former, the river being narrower there than at the latter, and supposed to admit of fewer ships operating at a time; but as it is asserted by the Gentlemen in

the River department, that the sand banks and shallowness of the River in most places near Fort Island, compensate for the width of it and make it impossible for more than three ships to act at a time, this reason for preferring the position at Bilingsport seems to have no foundation. And if we consider, that our whole force of gallies and floating batteries would be collected at Fort Island, assisted by the fort itself, and that it would not be safe to trust them all out, for the defence at Bilingsport, for fear of the disaster already suggested: it seems evident enough that this is the place where our defence may be most successfully made.

One of the weightiest considerations with me, is, that our Army, as before intimated, could more conveniently co-operate with the defence by water here, than at Bilingsport. The ground on this side is better situated here, than at the other place; and the army being so much nearer the city, it is so much the less likely, that the enemy should be able, by a circuitous route, to fall into the rear of it and Separate it from the city; which is a circumstance that ought carefully to be attended to.

Some Gentlemen are of Opinion, that our principal dependance ought to be upon Fort Island and its appendages; but at the same time, that we should make a part of our defence at Bilingsport; proposing for that purpose, that the works there should be continued in the new contracted scale to be garrisoned by four or five hundred Men. The reasons for this are, that it would serve to delay the enemy and give our army time to come up, should it be at any distance, and that it would prevent those disagreeable impressions, which never fail to accompany the abandoning works that have been once raised, and plans that have been once in execution; especially when the persons concerned in the defence of them, repose a degree of confidence in them; which is said to be the case in the present instance. But these reasons may perhaps not be so conclusive

as 'tis imagined; for 'tis a question, whether if our army was so remote, as to make such a delay necessary, the Enemy would embarrass themselves with removing the water obstructions in the first place; but would not rather debark and make a rapid March by land, possessing themselves of the city and of those positions which would make the surrender of the gallies &c in some sort a natural consequence; and it is worthy of consideration, whether the abandonning the works begun, at this time, which will probably allow some leisure, for any disagreeable impressions it might make to be effaced will not be less injurious, than the abandonning them hereafter, when they have cost more expence time and labour, and in the critical moment of an attack, when every misfortune and the loss of the most inconsiderable post is too apt to have a much worse influence upon the mind, than the real importance of it will justify. Add to this, the possibility that the garrison, dismayed at the approach of numbers so superior to their own, might not answer the end expected from them, and might even be lost by their timidity; the certainty of losing the cannon after the time limited for the defence, and thereby weakening that of the upper position; the chance of losing the gallies and floating batteries, requisite for covering the chevaux de frize, by a hazardous and successful attempt to break through them, and the garrison with them, which would fall of course upon such an event. It is however submitted to Congress to ballance the advantages and disadvantages and determine accordingly. I would only beg leave to give it clearly as my opinion, that our principal dependance ought to be upon Fort Island and the obstructions there, and that Bilingsport ought not, by any means to be defended, more than as a secondary object.

And to that end, I would recommend, that the works on Fort Island, which on their present construction are, by no means calculated for the defence of the Chevaux De frize, be

immediately altered and adapted to that purpose, taking care at the same time to make them defensible with a small number of Men against any sudden attempt to land in boats and carry them by assault.

But whatever scheme is pursued, I could wish the greatest diligence and dispatch may be used in bringing it to maturity, for though the danger which lately threatened seems to have subsided, there is no knowing how soon it may return, and certainly it will be prudent to do every thing in our power to be prepared for it, as we can lose nothing by being so, and may lose a great deal by neglecting to improve the interval of leisure they have given us, should it be their intention to revisit this quarter. As the means to this, it will be necessary to furnish Mr. Coudray, to whom the superintendency of those works has been intrusted, with a competent number of workmen, tools and other things he may want, to enable him to carry them on with propriety, ease and expedition.

On the whole, I am of opinion, that the obstructions in the River, with the help of the gallies, floating batteries, and with tolerable industry to put the land works in a proper state, will be extremely formidable to the enemy, and authorize a reasonable expectation of their being effectual. The fire ships also will contribute to this end, for though there are many obstacles that render their success precarious, and a happy concurrence of circumstances is necessary towards it any of which failing, may disappoint the project, and there is therefore no room to be sanguine, yet there is some probability of its succeeding, and they will be at least an embarrassment and terror to the enemy, and will oblige them to use precautions, inconvenient to them and serviceable to us.

As an accurate knowledge of the Country is essential to a good defence, and as the Enemy's approach may be sudden

and we may be called to act, without having time, when it happens, to examine it sufficiently, if it is not done beforehand; it would answer a valuable purpose, to have it immediately carefully reconnoitred, and sketches taken of all the landing places, great roads, and bye-paths, encamping grounds, heights, Rivers, creeks, morasses, and every thing that it can be of any importance to know. Marcus Hook seems to be the most advanced place, at which it is conjectured the enemy will land; the survey should therefore comprehend all the country between that and Philadelphia. Mr. Du Coudray has offered his service with his Engineers, to do this business, if authorized by Congress, only requiring that they may be supplied with horses [and a hand or two]. If Congress approve of it I shall be glad they may be desired to enter upon it, without loss of time. I have the Honor etc.[79]

To WILLIAM SEVER[80]

Camp near Germantown, August 10, 1777.

Sir: I was honored yesterday with your Letter of the 1st Inst., and at the same time with two from Genl. Heath, the first containing similar advices to those you were pleased to transmit; The Letter of the 2d Instt., giving us further Accounts of the Fleet, and discrediting the Report, as prematurely founded. I can only express my thanks, for your attention in this instance, and assure you, I shall consider myself much obliged, by your advising me by the earliest Opportunity of the arrival or appearance of any Fleet on your Coast, or of any other intelligence that you may conceive important and interesting.

[79] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The draft is in that of Richard Kidder Meade. The letter was read in Congress (August 11) and referred to the Board of War, "who are directed to carry the general's plan of defence into execution with all possible dispatch." The words in brackets were added by Washington.

[80] President of the Massachusetts Council.

Since General Howe left the Capes of Delaware with his fleet, on the Night of Thursday Sennight, we have not obtained any accounts of him, nor can we fix his destination with any certainty or satisfaction, by reasoning on the subject. 'till he sailed from Sandy Hook, I had no doubt in my own mind, but that he would have pushed up the North River, to co-operate with Genl. Burgoyne; his expedition to the Capes of Delaware and departure again without further information of him, have put us all into a state of conjecture, as to the line of Conduct he means to pursue. Whatever it is, I hope, eventually he will be disappointed. I have the honor etc.

P. S. If Genl. Howe should arrive on your Coast and make dispositions for landing, I would recommend, that all Cattle and every Species of Provision, may be removed out of his reach; also all Teams and Carriages to prevent him penetrating the Country, if such be his design. You will readily perceive the propriety of this Measure, and I am persuaded will put it into execution.[81]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Camp in Bucks County, August 11, 1777.

Dear Sir: I received yours of the 8th. instant at this place, I was upon the march with the Army to recross the Delaware,

[81] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Under date of Aug. 10, 1777, the following appears in the *Washington Papers*.

"John Tomkins Bill at the Billet, August 10, 1777.

His Excellency General Washington, Dr.

To 9 dinners @ 5/	£2:5
To 1 Bottle wine 20/ 2 lb Sugar	3
To 2 quarts Spirit & Brandy	2:10
To hay & Oats	4:18
To Light horse mans & Servants dinners	4:10
To two bouls of toddy & three quarts rum	3:
	£20:3

Recd ye above in full

John Tomkins"

The calculations were in Pennsylvania currency, with due regard to depreciation.

upon a supposition that the Fleet had certainly gone to the Eastward, but I was last Night overtaken by an Express from Philadelphia, with an account that they had been seen on the 7th. instant off Sinepuxent Inlet, about 16 leagues to the Southward of the Capes of Delaware. Upon this I have halted for further intelligence. Under the present Situation of Affairs, I can give you no better direction than to remain at your post and collect all the force that you possibly can, the Season of the Year is to be sure inconvenient for the Militia to be out, but the necessity of the Case requires that as many as possibly can, must be retained in service, for if Genl. Burgoyne persists in his advance upon our Northern Army, we must offer them support or suffer him to make himself Master of all the Country above. My last letter to you directed you to consider well, whether you could spare the two New York Regiments to Genl. Schuyler's Army. If Genl. Clinton is left upon York Island with the Number of Men you mention, it is undoubtedly for some other Reason than merely to keep the post. It is probably to attack you below while Burgoyne comes down upon you. It is a matter of great consequence to ascertain that Fact. Deserters and people of that Class always speak of numbers from report, indeed scarce any person can form a Judgment, except they see the Troops paraded and can count their Divisions. But if you can by any means obtain a list of the Regiments left upon the Island, we can compute the Number of Men within a few hundreds, over or under. I beg you will use every method to come at a knowledge of this. Let your Spies be also very particular in their inquiry, whether Genl. Clinton is actually upon the Island, for an Officer of his Rank and Military Estimation would scarcely be left to keep Garrison only. It has been reported that there was a collection of Waggons and Horses making at Kingsbridge; if so, it can be for no purpose but to

move out, and this therefore is another fact of which you should endeavour to know the truth. Till you are fully satisfied in the above particulars, I think you should upon no account keep any more than light parties down towards Kingsbridge, for if there is any design against your post from that Quarter, they might by a sudden embarkation and a favourable Wind, get between you and the Mountains, should you fall down with any considerable Body. I am glad to hear that Govr. Clinton has determined to resume the Command at Fort Montgomery, for there cannot be a properer man upon every account.[82] I am etc.[83]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL SILAS NEWCOMB

Head Qurs., near the Cross Roads,[84] August 11, 1777.

Sir: Your favour of Yesterday from Woodbury I have this Moment received. As you have got so many of the Militia collected, I would think it highly impolitic to discharge them until we can with some degree of precision, explain the late extraordinary Movements of the Enemy, and determine the object of them. In the interim my desire is that you order your Men to Red Bank to assist in completeing the Works there [and at Fort Island]. The Officer Commanding will take orders from General De Coudray or whoever he has left there to Superintend them. The disagreeable Suspense we are now kept in, cannot

[82] Putnam replied to this (August 15) that he had proof of Sir Henry Clinton's being on New York Island August 3 by his sending up a flag of truce in behalf of Lieut. Edmund Palmer, who had been captured under suspicious circumstances. Putnam inclosed a copy of his reply to Clinton, which is one of the unique documents in the Revolutionary correspondence. A copy, in the writing of Putnam's aide, reads as follows:

Head Quarters, August 4, 1777.

Edmond Palmer, an Officer in the Enemy's Service, Was taken as a Spy lurking within our lines, has been Tried as a Spy, Condemned as a Spy, and Shall be Executed as a Spy, and the Flag is ordered to depart immediately. I. Putnam.

N. B. and has been accordingly Executed.

Putnam's letter and a copy of his letter to Clinton are in the *Washington Papers*.

[83] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[84] Cross Roads later became Hartsville, Pa.

possibly be of long duration, during which, your Corps will be doing a Service to their Country, at least equal to the pay they draw, which I am satisfied will be more agreeable to them than to remain idle. I am etc.[85]

To ARTEMAS WARD

Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, August 11, 1777.

Sir: Since I had the Honor of writing to Mr. Sever, yesterday, I received your favor of the 2d Inst. contradicting the intelligence transmitted thro' him, and which had been done before by a letter from Genl. Heath of the same date and purport of yours.

Having written to Mr. Sever upon the Subject of Genl. Howe's departure from the Capes of Delaware and of the uncertainty we are in respecting his designs and operations, I should have had nothing to add on that head, had I not received an express last night from Mr. Hancock, with some information of the Fleet. According to this Account which originated with a Mr. Purnell, a large Fleet of Ships, consisting of upwards of two hundred Sail was Seen off Sinapuxon Bar, in the Afternoon of the 7th. Inst., standing to the Southward with the Wind about Southeast. Sinapuxon lies to the Southward of the State of Delaware and forms an Inlet into Maryland. This is the first information we have had of them since they left Cape May, and I am now as much puzzled about their designs, as I was before; being unable to account, upon any plausible Plan, for General Howe's conduct in this instance or why he should go to the Southward, rather than cooperate with Mr. Burgoyne. The latter appeared to me so probable and of such importance and still does, that I shall with difficulty give into a contrary belief, till I am obliged

[85] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald. The words within brackets are in the writing of Washington.

by some unequivocal event. If he should operate elsewhere South of Hudsons River, I should Suppose it will be against Philadelphia, for there is no other object of the same importance to engage his attention. I am etc.[86]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Camp, 20 Miles from Philada., August 12, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have now before me your favour of the 30. Ulto., which only came to hand last night.

Having written you fully yesterday, I have but little to add at this time, and indeed nothing but what respects the Subject of your Request. Springfield being in the Massachusetts State, is certainly included in your Command, and you will from time to time order payment to the persons employed in the Elaboratory department, as their pay becomes due; taking care that the accounts are regularly stated and authenticated in the best manner Circumstances will admit. I would also have you to direct and order every possible, necessary aid of Teams and Waggons to be furnished, whenever they are wanted for removing and forwarding the Stores to and from thence, and to establish such regulations in that instance, as you shall judge best calculated to promote the Service.

The Stores and Elaboratory are under the management of Genl. Knox, as being more intimately connected with his Department; you will therefore, be mindful not to give any orders contrary to his or mine, as a compliance would produce confusion and in many cases derange the most necessary plans. I am &ca.[87]

[86] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[87] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs. The letter sent is in that of Robert Hanson Harrison and is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. It varies slightly from the draft in capitalization, etc.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Camp at Cross Roads, August 12, 1777.

Sir: General Newcomb having informed me, that he had collected a body of about five hundred Jersey Militia at Woodbery, I have desired him to endeavour to keep them together, while matters remain in their present uncertainty and suspense and to employ them in whatever works may be carrying on at Bilingsport or Redbank, for the defence of the river. I mention this, that if it shall be thought proper, Mr. Du Coudray may be directed to call for the assistance of those Militia accordingly. I have the honor etc.[88]

To COLONEL ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD[89]

Camp, August 13, 1777.

Dr. Sir: Agreeable to your request, I enclose you a Copy of the proceedings of the Board of Genl. Officers on the question of Rank, which was before 'em, between Colonel McClanninghan[90] and yourself. I am persuaded a reconsideration of the Question would produce the same determination, and therefore suppose it altogether unnecessary, as the matter was very fully and maturely considered and there is nothing new to offer. I am, etc.[91]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Camp, Bucks County, August 13, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have your favour of the 11th. with Copy of a Letter from Govr. Trumbull, by which I am pleased to find that he so

[88] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[89] Of the Second Virginia Regiment.
[90] Col. Alexander McClanachan, of the Seventh Virginia Regiment.
[91] From the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

readily complies with the requisition for a Body of Militia. I have a letter from Govr. Clinton, in which he informs me, that instead of five hundred Men he shall order Eight hundred to Fort Montgomery and that Neighbourhood. Mine to you of the 11th. gives you my opinion fully, as to the part you are to act in regard to sending parties down towards Kings Bridge. Genl. Clinton writes me, that his Militia are engaged to the 1st. of November; if those from Connecticut, or a sufficient number are engaged for such certain length of time, that you can depend upon their not leaving you suddenly, I think you may safely spare Livingston's and Cortlandt's Regiments to reinforce the Northern Army. If you conclude to do it, the sooner they are sent up the better. I have heard nothing more of the Fleet since I wrote to you last, only that the account of their being to the Southward seems confirmed. I am &ca.

P. S. It will probably be a satisfaction to Govr. Trumbull to know that the Fleet are to the Southward, you will therefore please to inform him.[92]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Camp, Bucks County, August 13, 1777.

Dear Sir: I this day received your favour of the 9th. Instt. Your vigilance in providing a proper force to oppose the Enemy, and the Alacrity with which the Militia have Assembled afford me great satisfaction; if your Efforts are seasonably and Skilfully seconded by your Eastern Neighbours, we may hope that General Burgoyne will find it equally difficult to make a further progress or to effect a Retreat. You are the best Judge with respect to the length of service to be required from the Militia; however as their assistance is a Resource which must

[92] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

be sparingly employed I would have them detained no longer than is absolutely necessary.

The excuse of Want of Confidence in General Officers, which has hitherto been alledged by the Eastern States, for witholding those Reinforcements from the Northern Army which were expected of them, will be obviated by the presence of Major Genl. Gates.

The Resolves of Congress which relate to the Recruiting of the Army will have reached you before this time, and you will have acted in consequence. By a Resolve of the 3d. August, the Commanding Officer of the Northern Department has discretionary power to make Requisitions on the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, there will be therefore a concurrence of Authority in yourself and Genl. Gates which you will arrange between yourselves. I am etc.[93]

To SILAS DEANE

Camp in Bucks County, August 13, 1777.

Sir: I have had the pleasure of receiving several of your favors by the hands of Gentlemen coming to America, with a desire to enter into our service; but as they were merely introductory, I hope I shall be excused for not answering them in regular order.

The difficulty of providing for those Gentlemen, in a Manner suitable to the former ranks of some, and the expectations of many, has not a little embarrassed Congress and myself. The extravagant Rank given to the Officers who first came over from France, most of whom have turned out but little better than adventurers, made those of real Merit and long Service, who came over with proper credentials, naturally conclude that

[93] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

they should enjoy the highest posts in our Army; Indeed it could not be expected that they would consent to serve in this Country, in an inferior station to those whom they had Commanded in France. Had not this difficulty been in the way, it would have been in a measure impossible for us to have provided for them all in the line of the Army, for the following Reasons: When Congress at length determined to establish the Army upon a permanent footing, the Regiments and Field Officer's Commissions were naturally given to those Gentn. in the different States who had stepped forward and distinguished themselves from the beginning of the Contest. All that could then be done, was to give those that came well recommended, Commissions in the Continental Army, from whence they derived Rank and Pay; but as they were assigned to no particular Corps, they were in a great measure excluded from any real Command. This to those who came over upon Motives of Interest only, was not unsatisfactory; but it was very irksome to Men of real spirit who wanted to distinguish themselves, and who could not brook the thoughts of drawing pay, without rendering service for it. From this State of the case, you will plainly perceive, that had applications for employment in our service, been but few, it would not have been easy to have granted them in a proper Manner; but when they have been so extremely numerous (and scarce a Man willing to accept of any thing under the degree of a Field Officer) it has been really distressing, especially when it is considered that many of the Gentlemen are Men of Merit, and who have come from home out of a desire of serving our Cause. I have often expressed my Sentiments to Congress upon this Head, and have wished them to take some measures, to make Doctr. Franklin and yourself acquainted with our difficulties. If the Gentlemen in France were properly informed that our Army was fully Officered and that all Vacancies are

filled by succession, none would come out, but those in particular Branches with whom particular Stipulations are made. I make no doubt but you are sufficiently importuned for Letters of recommendation, which I am Confident you grant to none but those whom you think worthy of them. But I hope you will in future, let the Gentlemen who apply for them, into a true State of the Nature of our service and of the difficulty of getting into it, in any but an inferior station; if after that, they choose to come over upon a Risque, they cannot complain if their expectations are not answered. Altho' Letters of recommendation are not binding, yet if the parties that bring them have not their Wishes fully complied with, they are apt to attribute their disappointment to slight of them and want of attention to the Gentn. recommending.

I have laid this Matter thus fully and candidly before you, that you may endeavour to prevent the fruitless applications and great expence that those Gentn. must incur who cannot be provided for. I am &ca.[94]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, near the Cross Roads,
August 13, 1777.

Parole Berlin. Countersigns Hungary, Hanover.

The officers of the day will consider of the necessary guards to be posted in this place, and attend to the order and discipline of the camp, agreeably to the general orders of the 5th. of June. The General requests the officers of the day to dine at Head Quarters as usual.

The Brigadiers, or Officers commanding brigades, are at orderly time to morrow, to return a list of all the absent officers

[94] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

in their respective corps, to the Adjutant General. In doing this, the name and rank of the officers are to be set forth; how long they have been absent; whether they are upon duty, and what duty, or upon furlough, and the length of time for which the furloughs were given. A strict compliance with this order is expected.

The Quarter Master and Waggon Master General are now to arrange all matters in their respective departments in the best manner possible; and be ready to move on the shortest notice, in whatever route the army shall be called to march.

The board of General officers held the 12th. instant to examine the complaints made against Col. John White[95] and other officers of the Georgia Battalion, for inlisting some men out of the Continental army who were already inlisted in other regiments report "That upon the fullest enquiry, there dont appear the least imputation against any of his officers, except in the instance of Capt. Lucas,[96] who supposed himself authorised in the matter complained of by a general order from Major General Gates, issued by the Town Major."

All officers from whose corps it is suspected any men have deserted and inlisted into Col. White's battalion, are instantly to make out lists of their names, with proper descriptions of their persons and dress, and deliver them to their brigadier, or officer commanding their brigade, who will immediately send a suitable officer of the brigade to Philadelphia; to examine Col. White's battalion, agreeable to his request; who will deliver up their deserters, if any shall be found in his corps; these officers will at the same time apply to the officers commanding the gallies, and other vessels of war, at Philadelphia, and below the city, for leave to search their vessels, for deserters; and they are desired to permit such searches accordingly.

[95] Of the Fourth Georgia Regiment.
[96] Capt. John Lucas, of the Third Georgia Regiment.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, near the Cross Roads,
August 14, 1777.

Parole Holland. Countersigns Sweden, Denmark.

A board of general officers, consisting of all the General officers not on duty, to sit to morrow, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, at General Greene's quarters, for the purpose of settling the rank of all the Pennsylvania field officers.

To ROBERT MORRIS

Cross Roads near Neshaminy Bridge,
August 14, 1777.

Dear Sir: In looking over my private acct. with the Public, I find a credit to it of a blank number of Silver Dollars sent me by you whilst I lay at Trenton about the first of Jany., for want of the Sum, I cannot Bale. the Acct. and shall thank you for information on this head.[97]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Camp, Bucks County, August 14, 1777.

Dear Sir: I this Morning received yours of the 12th, at the same time one from Genl. Borre, by which I find Major Mullen's Behaviour has been so exceptionable that no concessions can make any amends. I am therefore obliged to confirm the Sentence of the Court Martial.[98]

Upon a supposition that the Enemy had gone to the Eastward, I was upon my march further Northward, but an Express

[97] The text is from the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, v. 16, p 36. In Washington's accounts as Commander in Chief this entry, under January, 1777, notes £124:7:8 received from Morris.

[98] Major Mullens was sentenced by the court to be cashiered for insubordination and disrespect to his superior officer.

overtook me at this place, with an account that they were seen upon the 7th. instant off Sinepuxent between the Capes of Delaware and Chesapeak bearing to the Southward. They were seen again upon the 8th., nearly in the same situation. Upon this Advice I have halted till I hear something further.

In mine to you of the 10th., you were directed to issue orders to the Paymasters of your division, to come on with their abstracts ready certified that they might be paid off to the last of July. The Gentleman who wrote the letter mistook my meaning and I signed it in a hurry. My meaning was, that the Troops should be paid off for the Month of June, and that the Abstracts for the Month of July should be lodged with the Paymaster General, there to remain till General Orders directed the July pay to be called for. You will therefore please to let the Paymasters know how the matter stands. I shall give the Adjutant General orders to let you know when the pay for the month of July is to be drawn. I am &ca.[99] [N.H.H.S.]

To COLONEL ELIAS DAYTON

Head Qurs., Camp at Cross Roads, August 14, 1777.

Sir: As you are not inconveniently situated to keep a look out upon what may be passing about King's Bridge, in New York and on Staten Island,[1] I wish you to take every method to collect the best intelligence you can of the situation of the Enemy, their Strength and Motions at those several places, and communicate the same to me. With respect to their Strength, I would not have you pay any attention to the vague calculations, that may be made by those of whom you inquire, as to the whole number at either place. If you can only ascertain, with certainty, the particular Regiments and Corps; we shall be able

[99] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[1] Dayton was then at Acquakanonck, on the Passaic River, in New Jersey.

to estimate their numbers better by that, than by any conjectures they can form. The point to be attended to, is to find out how many and what particular corps there are at the different places.

I have been informed they are collecting a large number of Waggons about Kings Bridge. This is a Circumstance of importance and which I should be glad you would take pains to find out the truth of.

I would also have you to procure and send me an exact account of the number of boats that may be collected in the neighbouring Rivers and Creeks, and the places where they are, in case they should be wanted, for any sudden secret expedition, and this should be done in such a manner, as not to make any noise, nor raise any Suspicions of what may be intended. I am &ca.[2]

To COLONEL THOMAS PRICE

August 14, 1777.

Sir: I am informed by Captain Eli Dorsey, appointed to a Command in your Regiment, that he has never been included in any pay abstracts, from a doubt arising, whether he could be paid, as he is a prisoner under parole. I am to request, that in your next abstract, Captain Dorsey's back pay may be included, and that in future, he may be regularly drawn for, as the other Officers are and in the same manner, that he would, if he was at liberty to act and in service. I am, etc.[3]

To CAPTAIN EPHRAIM ANDERSON[4]

Camp in Bucks County, August 15, 1777.

Sir: You are directed to proceed from hence to Pluckemin and inquire of Colo. McDaniel by what authority he lately went

[2] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[3] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[4] The Capt. Ephraim Anderson to whom this letter is addressed is recorded by Heitman as having been killed in June, 1777.

to Staten Island with a Flag. I am told he produced the Copy of a permit, the original of which he said he obtained from me. As I never granted any such to him, it must be a forgery. When I was at Colo. Mehelm's,[5] I granted a liberty to send a Flag to an old Gentleman of the Name of Porter, and another to a Lady of the Name of Leak whose Husband formerly lived at New Bromley Mills, perhaps McDaniel may have accompanied the Persons going in with one of these Flags. But he ought to know and certainly does know, that a person under his suspicious Character, and who was released at Morris Town, upon a promise that he would not go near the Enemy, had no right on any pretence to go to Staten Island. If you find he has been over, you are hereby directed and authorized to apprehend and bring him before me, to answer for his conduct. I am &c.[6]

*To LIEUTENANTS WILLIAM BIRD, RICHARD DORSEY, JOHN CRAIG, NICHOLSON RUXTON MOORE, AND GEORGE GRAY[7]

Camp at the Cross Roads, August 15, 1777.

Gentlemen: In answer to your respective Letters without date, but presented to me Yesterday, you will please to be inform'd

First, that the pay of the Horse Officers was fixed in December last, and at the same rates now existing, and,

Secondly, that I am not conscious of ever having said, or done any thing, that cou'd lead to a belief, that the Rank of a Lieutt. of Horse was to be equal to a Captain of foot, for the obvious reasons, that neither justice, or usage, would authorize it.

[5] Col. John Mehelm. He was commissary general of hides in New Jersey.
[6] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[7] All of the Fourth Continental Dragoons.

How it came to pass then, that you shou'd conceive yourselves entitled to the Rank and pay of such Officer is neither my business, nor Inclination to enquire into; this however, I shall add. That if your respective application's to resign, is the effect of hasty resolutions, you may take till to morrow to reconsider and recall your Letters. But if on the other hand, you shd. then be in the same Mind, I shall be ready to receive your Commissions if they have been deliver'd, or give dismissions if they have not.

Your Wishes to resign at such a period as this (after time is allowed for reconsideration) will be sufficient evidence with me, that it is a disinclination to the Service, and not the mere disappointment of Rank and Pay, that Causes it; and therefore, it may be unnecessary for me to add, that any future application from either of you to get into the Continental Service will be improper, and, as far as it is in my power to make it so, unavailing.[8] I am etc.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Camp at Cross Roads, August 15, 1777.

Sir: Mr Du Coudray has lain before me a plan of the river, by which it appears, that for a considerable space between the two sand banks on the East Side of Fort-Island, there is from four to four and a half fathom's depth of water. According to this representation, there would be room for three frigates to lie between those banks, in such a position as to enfilade the works at Fort-Island, and make it difficult to maintain them. There are but two ways of remedying this inconvenience: one by having a sufficient number of chevaux de frize sunk at the entrance between the two banks, and the other by having the left flank of

[8] See Washington's letter to the same officers, Aug. 17, 1777, *post*.

Fort-Island fortification supported by a good battery capable of resisting the cannon of the ships and obliging them to quit their station. The first is evidently preferable, because the efficacy of it will be more certain. A few chevaux de frize properly placed might effectually bar all access to the ships; but there is a possibility, that any battery, we can construct, might be overpowered by the fire of the shipping; and as we have few cannon, and Fort-Island is itself a marshy spot, incapable of affording earth for the batteries necessary to be raised upon it, which must be brought from the opposite shore, it would not be prudent to multiply works there, more than cannot be avoided. It would also be a great advantage gained, to secure the Island from annoyance, except in one point and that in front, from only three ships at a time; which would be effected by stopping up the passage between the two banks, with chevaux de frize. I should therefore think it of importance to have this measure immediately adopted, and carried into execution. I have the honor etc.[9]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Qurs., Bucks County, August 16, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have your favour of the 14th. instant. Just before it came to hand I had received the intelligence which it contained from Genl. Clinton. The people in the Northern Army seem so intimidated by the Indians that I have determined to send up Colo. Morgan's Corps of Rifle Men who will fight them in their own way. They march from Trenton to morrow Morning and will reach Peeks Kill with all expedition. You will please to have sloops ready to carry them and provision laid in, that they may not wait a moment. The Corps consists of Five hundred Men. Be pleased to let me have an exact return of your numbers,

[9] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

both Continental and Provincial, that I may form a Judgment of the propriety of detaching any more force to the Northward. Remark to what time your Provincials are engaged. I am etc.

P. S. 500. is the true Strength of Morgan's Corps, but it will answer a good purpose if you give out they are double that number.[10]

To COLONEL DANIEL MORGAN

Neshamini Camp, August 16, 1777.

Sir: After you receive this, you will march with the Corps under your Command, as soon as possible, to Peeks Kill, taking with you all the baggage belonging to it. When you arrive there, you will take directions from Genl. Putnam, who, I expect, will have Vessels provided to carry you to Albany. The approach of the Enemy, in that Quarter, has made a further reinforcement necessary, and I know of no Corps so likely to check their progress in proportion to their number, as the one you Command. I have great dependance on you, your Officers and Men, and am firmly persuaded, you will do honor to yourselves and essential Service to your Country.

I expect that your Corps have been paid to the last of June. But as you are going on this Command and they may have occasion for more Money, you will make out an Estimate, as well as you can, of the sum due them for the Month of July, and send an Officer with it, to whom it shall be paid. I do not mean to exclude the Corps from their pay in June. If that has not been paid, include it in the Estimate.

I have nothing further to add, but my best Wishes for your Success. I am etc.[11]

[10] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and Richard Kidder Meade.

[11] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, also in Harrison's writing, is in the New York Public Library; it varies from the draft in minor verbal particulars.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Neshamini Camp, August 16, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the Honor of addressing a few lines to Congress on a Subject, which appears to me of infinite importance and to have a Claim to their serious attention. The matter I allude to, is the exorbitant price exacted by Merchants and Venders of Goods, for every Necessary they dispose of. I am sensible, the trouble and risk in importing, give the Adventurers a right to a generous price, and that such, from motives of policy, should be paid; But yet, I cannot conceive, that they, in direct violation of every principle of generosity, of reason and of Justice, should be allowed, if it is possible to restrain 'em, to avail themselves of the difficulties of the times, and to amass Fortunes upon the public ruin. This Grievance, is now an Object of Universal complaint and of Universal apprehension; And the consequences that are likely to result from a continuance of it, excite in every well affected mind the most disagreeable feelings. The Inclosed Copy of a Memorial from a part of the Pennsylvania Officers, shews their sentiments upon the Subject, and I am persuaded, those of the whole Army are similar, as they have and do experience the gross abuses they complain of. I know that ways and means for preventing this Evil wholly, are difficult, if practicable, to find out; But I should hope, that Congress themselves, or the Supreme Powers in the respective States, thro' their recommendation, may devise some mode by which it may be redressed in part. I think there are Two Measures, which if adopted and put under proper regulations, would be of considerable saving to the Public and to the Army, at the same time that they would contribute a good deal to do away part of the Uneasiness of the Latter, arising from the enormous prices they are compelled to pay for Necessaries. The First is,

the Establishment of public Tanneries, in three or Four of the States, under care of a Judicious Commissary or Director, to which all the Hides of the Cattle killed for the Army should be carried and tanned. There should be also Deputies to attend the Army and Collect the Hides and it appears to me, that establishing the Tanneries in different States, for instance, one in this and Another in Connecticut, will be much more advisable than fixing Only One in either of 'em, as the business may be carried on more extensively, with more convenience and at less expence, than if the Raw Hides were to be transported to one place only, from which probably there would be a necessity of carrying them the whole distance back again after they were dressed. This Subject was under consideration of Congress once before and a Commissary (if I recollect a Mr. Phillips) appointed, who declined the Office [since which things have gone on in the old train]. Leather is of such Essential use and so indespensably necessary for shoes and other purposes in the Army, that too much care, nor too effectual means cannot be taken to procure it. What I have ventured to mention, if gone into, will add much to our Supplies, and I am certain, will prevent the high and unjustifiable prices demanded for this Article, when in the hands of Private Owners. Besides, at these Tanneries, a number of Artists [artisans], such as Shoe and Harness Makers, might be employed to work the Leather up. In like Manner, since our Imports of Spirit have become so precarious, nay impracticable, on Account of the Enemy's Fleet which infests our Whole Coast, I would beg leave to suggest the propriety of erecting Public Distilleries in different States. The benefits arising from the moderate use of strong Liquor, have been experienced in All Armies, and are not to be disputed. In the present situation of Affairs, Our Soldiery cannot obtain such supplies, as are absolutely necessary, and if they are fortunate enough to get any, it

is from the Sutlers, at most extravagant rates and at such, as are incredible to tell of. This is a source of much complaint, and I should hope may be removed, by appointing proper persons to buy Grain and distill it for the Army, large quantities of which, may easily be procured and on reasonable Terms, in many of the States. In respect to the observation, in the Memorial about Rations, it is certain, the present allowed value, is by no means Sufficient, nor does it answer the purpose intended. Since that was fixed, Provisions like every other Article, tho' not from the same Causes, have become extremely dear and what at that time was a just equivalent, is totally inadequate now. This matter, I doubt not, will have the attention of Congress and such regulations be made respecting it as may be right and equitable.

It appears to me from the Information I have received that Two Companies, each to consist of Sixty Men at least, under proper Officers of unsuspected Attachment, Spirit and activity, should be immediately raised to guard the Laboratory and Stores at Carlisle. Their Security is of considerable importance and ought to be attended to. These Companies, besides serving as a Guard, will be frequently of use as Escorts and Convoys to Stores. If Congress should deem them necessary and order them to be inlisted, Yet I would recommend that they should not be raised, as merely Stationary or local, having found from experience, that Regiments or Companies, formed upon such a footing, enter upon their services with great discontent and reluctance, tho' the Occasion should be never so pressing.

In a Letter of the 13th of June I submitted to Congress an Application from the Officers of Cavalry respecting their Horses. Whether they were to be provided at their own or public expence. I also laid before them in a Letter, of the 5th. of July, Captain Sullivan's requisition for pay. I shall be glad to be honored with their determination upon these Subjects, and also,

in general, respecting the Line of conduct I should pursue as to the pay of Officers, taken Prisoners at any time before the close of the last Campaign, and who have been permitted to be on parole, and whether there is to be any distinction between such of them as are continued by new Appointments and those who are not. I have frequent applications in these instances and wish to know how to act.

Since the Express from Genl Schuyler left this, I received a Letter from Govr. Clinton,[12] a Copy of which and of its Inclosures I herewith transmit, as they give a much more favorable Account of the affairs at Fort Schuyler, than was contained in his Letter. I have &ca.[13]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Qurs., Camp at Cross Roads, August 16, 1777.

Dr. Sir: Your favor of the 13th. with the inclosed papers are before me.

I wish the accounts of the two Actions near Fort Schuyler had been more clear and intelligible than they are; as more Dependence could then be placed on the Authenticity of the particulars, and a Stronger assurance formed of the advantages, being as fully on our side, as they are there represented. If the loss of some of their most spirited Leaders, which happened on these occasions, do not operate too forcibly on the Minds of the People in that quarter, I should imagine these little Successes might be productive of valuable Consequences. The Indians, we know, are not a very persevering people, but on the Contrary are apt to be discouraged by the most trifling miscarriages; and

[12] A copy of Clinton's letter of August 13, in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

[13] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in brackets are in the draft, but not in the letter sent.

two Rebuffs like these, would be no inconsiderable inducements with them to abandon the British Troops, and leave them to prosecute the business alone. These little Reverses of Fortune will also have their influence, in abating that confidence, which their former uninterrupted Successes have inspired into the Enemy; and will tend proportionably to revive the drooping Spirits of our Army. I shall be obliged to you when you receive any more explicit intelligence of what has happened, to communicate it to me.

I see with the most Sensible Pleasure the exertions of your State, dismembered as it is, and under every discouragement and disadvantage. I lament that any causes are Sufficiently powerful to prevent that effectual aid from your Eastern Neighbours, which the interest of the Public Cause and the immediate Safety of your particular State so pressingly demand at this time. But though it is dilatory in coming, I cannot but hope it will Still come before it is too late. I imagine one cause and not the least material of their Delay, is an apprehension of General Howe's Army. It were to be wished his Designs were once reduced to a Certainty this, I should be in hopes, would serve to remove that Inactivity and Indecision, which I believe proceeds in a great measure from Suspense and Uncertainty. I am however advised, that a Body of New Hampshire Militia, under General Stark had joined General Lincoln at Bennington, and another, of Massachusetts Militia, was partly arrived and the rest arriving at the Same place.[14] A tolerable Body of Men, once collected

[14] Ford quotes Burgoyne's letter of Aug. 20, 1777, to Lord George Germain: "The great bulk of the country is undoubtedly with the Congress, in principle and in zeal; and their measures are executed with a secrecy and dispatch that are not to be equalled. Wherever the king's forces point, militia, to the amount of three or four thousand, assemble in twenty-four hours; they bring with them their subsistence, &c., and, the alarm over, they return to their farms. The Hampshire Grants in particular, a country unpeopled and almost unknown in the last war, now abounds in the most active and most rebellious race of the continent, and hangs like a gathering storm upon my left."

there, would make Mr. Burgoyne anxious for his rear, oblige him to advance circumspectly, and to leave such Strong Posts behind, as must make his main body very weak, and extremely capable of being repulsed by the force we shall have in front. I should not be very uneasy for the Issue, if I could once see our Northern Army recovered from their present Dejection, and restored to a tolerable degree of Confidence and Animation.

From some expressions in a Letter, which I have seen, written by General Lincoln to General Schuyler, I am led to infer it is in contemplation to unite all the Militia and Continental Troops in one body, and make an opposition wholly in front. If this is really the intention, I should think it a very ineligible Plan. An Enemy can always act with more vigor and effort, when they have nothing to apprehend for their Flanks and Rear, than when they have, and, it is one of the most approved and most universally practiced Manœuvres of War, to keep their fears continually awake on these accounts, and, when circumstances permit to be actually in condition to give them Serious Annoyance in those Parts. Independent of the Inconveniences that attend a Situation, where the Rear and Flank are constantly exposed to the insults of light parties which may be at every moment harrassing them; the necessity of never loosing sight of the means of a Secure Retreat, which ought to be the first object of an Officer's Care, must be exceedingly embarrassing, where there is a Force in such a position as to endanger it. If a respectable Body of Men were to be Stationed on the Grants, it would undoubtedly have the effects intimated above, would render it not a little difficult for Mr. Bourgoigne to keep the necessary Communication open, and they would frequently afford opportunities of intercepting his Convoys. If there Should be none there, he might advance with Security, leaving Small Posts behind, and might draw his Supplies regularly and

without Interruption, than which, nothing could tend more to facilitate his operations and give them Success. These Reasons make it clearly my opinion, that a Sufficient body of Militia should always be reserved in a Situation proper to answer those Purposes. If there should be more collected than is requisite for this use, the Surplussage may with Propriety be added to the main body of the Army. I am not however so fully acquainted with every Circumstance that ought to be taken into consideration, as to pretend to do any thing more than advise in the matter. Let those on the Spot determine and act as appears to them most prudent.

In addition to the two Regiments that are gone from Peekskill, I am forwarding, as fast as possible, to join the Northern Army, Col. Morgan's Corps of Riflemen, amounting to about 500 Men. These are all chosen Men Selected from the Army at large; well acquainted with the use of Rifles and with that mode of Fighting, which is Necessary to make them a good Counterpoise to the Indians, and have distinguished themselves on a variety of occasions Since the formation of the Corps, in Skirmishes with the Enemy. I expect the most eminent Services from them and I shall be mistaken, if their presence does not go far towards producing a general Desertion among the Savages. I should think it would be well, even before their arrival to begin to circulate these Ideas, with proper Embellishments, throughout the Country, and in the army and to take pains to communicate them to the Enemy. It would not be amiss, among other Things, to magnify Numbers.

I am of opinion of the Council of Safety that your presence to the Northward might have a very happy Influence, and if it were compatible with the many other Calls there are and will be, upon you, I could wish to see you with the Northern Army, at the head of the Militia of your State. I am etc.

P. S. It is most probable, that General Schuyler will have put it out of the Enemy's Power, to avail themselves of the Convenience of Water Carriage by removing all Boats out of their Way; if however this necessary Precaution should not have occurred to him, it will be proper to remind him, that all means of facilitating their Progress down the River, should be cut off, as speedily as possible.[15] [M.L.]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, near the Cross Roads, August 16, 1777.

Parole Bristol. Countersigns Coventry, Darby.

STANDING REGULATIONS

1st. When the army is to march, the General (and not the Revellie) is to beat in the morning.

2nd. At the beating of the General, the officers and soldiers are to dress and prepare themselves for the march, packing up and loading their baggage.

3rd. At the beating of the troop, they are to strike all their tents and put them in the waggons; all the waggons to be sent (with the guard directed in the after orders of July 4th) to the place where the whole is appointed to assemble.

4th. In due time, at least a quarter of an hour before the time appointed for marching, the drummers are to beat a march, upon which the troops are to march out and form at the head of their encampment; the files to be completed, and the battalions properly told off. Precisely at the hour appointed for marching, the drummers beat the march a second time, at that part of the line from which the march is to be made (whether

[15] In the writing of John Laurens; the draft is in that of Alexander Hamilton and Laurens.

the right, left or center) upon which the troops face or wheel, (according to the order of march which shall be prescribed,) towards that place where the march was beat, and instantly begin the march.

5th. At the beating of the *General,* the regimental Quarter Masters, and Camp-colourmen, are to assemble, and forthwith parade on the *right, left* or *center* of the line, according as the army shall march, from one or the other. The Brigade and Division Quarter Masters, so many of the artificers as the Qr Mr General, or his Deputy shall direct, and all the pioneers, are to assemble at the same time and place. The Quarter Master General, or one of his deputies, will then march them to the place where the army is to encamp. The Pioneers and Artificers are to go in the front to repair the roads, and remove any obstructions that may incommode the line of march. The Quarter Masters and Camp colourmen follow, in the order the corps, to which they belong, stand in the line.[16]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL FRANCIS NASH

Head Qurs., Bucks County, August 17, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 14th inclosing the proceedings of a Court Martial, and the opinions of a Board of Field Officers upon the irregularity of the promotion of Colo. Lamb and Colo. Little.

I am persuaded, that a frequency of Executions lessens the force of them, and therefore, if either or both of the criminals under Sentence, in the opinion of yourself and the officers of your Brigade, deserve mercy, I am willing it should be extended, after carrying them thro' all the forms of an Execution. But if

[16] The Varick Transcript in the Library of Congress notes that the remainder of the orders for this day is lost.

you think that an example is necessary to put a stop to the too prevailing vice of desertion, let the most atrocious offender of the two suffer, after you have received a proper warrant from me.

It appears to me by the representation signed by the Board of Field Officers in your Brigade, that it had been the Usage of the State of North Carolina for all the Officers to rise Regimentally, by which rule Colo. Lamb and Colo. Little succeeded of course. When the Regulation was made by a Board of General Officers on the 13th of June last, "that all promotion to the Rank of Major should be regimental, and after that in the line of the State," it was never meant to have a retrospect, otherwise it would have unhinged the Arrangement of Pennsylvania, Virginia and most of the Eastern States. I am therefore of opinion, that if it was the Usage of the State of North Carolina to promote Regimentally, when Colo. Lamb and Colo. Little received their Commissioners, that they should hold them and that the eldest Major upon the line in your State Should Succeed Lt. Colo. Ingram.[17] I am &ca.[18]

To LIEUTENANTS WILLIAM BIRD, RICHARD DORSEY, JOHN CRAIG, NICHOLAS RUXTON MOORE AND GEORGE GRAY

Head Qurs., near Cross Roads, August 17, 1777.

Gentlemen: I have just received your Letter of this date with the inclosed Certificates justifying your pretentions to the Rank you mention. I must repeat to you, that I am entirely ignorant of the means by which such an Idea was propagated; nor did I ever see any Reason why superior Rank should be given to Officers of Cavalry but where Commissions are equal, the Commands should be ascertained by priority of date.

[17] Lieut. Col. James Ingram, of the Eighth North Carolina Regiment.
[18] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

I shall never wish to influence any Gentlemen to serve in this Army, if I have Reason to believe they cannot do it consistent with that strict notion of Honour, which should be the invariable rule of conduct for every Officer, but am of opinion, nevertheless, that a Resignation in this part of a Campaign can only be warranted by treatment, which would be disgraceful to bear, and therefore that your Resolution not to resign, at least, till the end of the Campaign must meet the approbation of all who wish to see you act with propriety. I am etc.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Neshamini Camp, August 17, 1777.

Sir: The unfavorable situation of our Affairs in the Northern department and the pressing applications of Genl. Schuyler for aid, induced me to write, some time ago, to Genl. Putnam to hold Van Cortlandt's and Livingston's Regiments, in readiness to embark for Albany, in case I should find it necessary and the Succours he received of Militia would justify the measure. I have the honor to acquaint you, that by a Letter from him of the 16th which came to hand yesterday, he informed me, that without waiting for further directions, he had ordered them to proceed with all possible expedition, as the late advices from that Quarter seemed to make a further augmentation of the Army requisite. Besides these, I have, contrary to my wishes, but from the necessity of the case, ordered Colo Morgan to march immediately with his Corps, as an additional support.[19] I hope they

[19] The President of Congress wrote to Washington (August 17): "The Complaints of the Want of Men to the Northward, are so great and urgent, that Congress, with a View of affording them some Assistance, have come to the enclosed Resolve; by which you will perceive, it is their Desire that five Hundred Riflemen, under the Command of an active Officer, should be immediately sent into that Department, to oppose the Incursions of the Indians."

On August 17, on a report of the Committee on the state of the Western Frontiers and the Northern Department, Congress resolved that 500 men should comprise such

will be of material service, particularly in opposing the Savage part of Genl Burgoyne's Force, which from every Account, spreads a general Alarm among the Inhabitants and affects the minds of the Militia not a little who have not been much accustomed to their mode of Warfare. I have the honor etc.

P. S. They are to march to Peekskill, where I have written to General Putnam to have Vessels provided, to transport them by water.[20]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Camp at Cross Roads,
August 17, 1777.

Sir: Colo. Portail, for himself and in behalf of the Gentlemen with him, has made different applications to me for horses and servants, and I have been in a manner, under the necessity of furnishing them by way of loan till he can be otherwise provided. He expects these things to be found them at the public expence, and informs me that the matter is now before Congress, whose determination they look for every moment. I have taken the liberty to mention this, because I should be glad, if any thing of the kind is intended, that it might be done as soon as convenient, or if it is not that they may be informed their expectations are not well founded. This will put them upon providing for themselves, and will prevent their repeating their applications to me on a subject, which I am not authorized to do any thing in. I have the honor etc.[21]

a force. This committee consisted of William Duer, Richard Henry Lee, James Wilson, John Adams, and Samuel Chase. Washington replied to the letter in a short note, dated August 18: "You will perceive by my letter of yesterday . . . that I had been so happy as to anticipate the views of Congress, by ordering Col. Morgan to march with his Corps to the northern Army."

[20] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The draft, also by Harrison, has the P. S., which is not included in the letter sent.

[21] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To THE MARYLAND DELEGATES[22]

Neshamini Camp, August 17, 1777.

Gentn.: I beg leave to trouble you with a few Lines, upon a Subject which I wish to have your attention. I was just now informed, that Lt McNair[23] of the Artillery has been arrested and stands bound over to the next Court to be held for Harford County for enlisting two Men to serve in one of the Continental Regiments of Artillery. This it is said, is in consequence of an Act of your Assembly, by which all Officers are prohibited enlisting men within the State, unless they are of the Regiments belonging to it. I have never seen the Law and therefore cannot pretend to determine, how far the prohibition extends, but should suppose it was only designed to prevent the Officers of other States enlisting Men to fill up the Regiments, assigned as their quota. So far it appears to me, the Act is founded in the strictest justice; But when there is an absolute necessity for Artillery Corps, When three such Regiments were ordered to be raised by Congress, without being apportioned on any particular State, certainly each should furnish a proportion of Men. The case is quite otherwise. All in this Line now with the Army, have been inlisted in the New England States, a few excepted, and the greatest part in that of Massachusetts, over and above their quota of the 88 Battalions first voted, and a proportion of the additional 16. I will not say any thing of the Policy or impolicy of this act, if it has a more extensive Operation than I have supposed it to have; but I would take the liberty to observe, that in my opinion, It would be for the advantage of the States, if each of them had men employed in this important Branch of

[22] Samuel Chase, William Paca, and William Smith.

[23] Lieut. James McNair, of the Second Continental Artillery. He was killed at Monmouth, N. J., June 28, 1778.

War, not to add, that the whole ought to contribute equally to the filling of all Corps that are deemed essential and which are not allotted to any Individual one. Capt Lt. McClure[24] will deliver you this Letter and I should hope thro' your application and intercession with the Court of Hartford, so far as they may be consistent, that Lieut. McNair may be discharged from his recognizance, if he has not offended in any other instance against the laws of the State. I have the honor &c.[25]

To BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Head Quarters, August 17, 1777.

Sir: I have been honored with your favor of the 2d. April by Monsr. De Cenis, written in behalf of that Gentleman on the Credit of Monsr. Turgot's recommendation.

I should have been happy had it been in my power, in deference to your recommendation, founded upon that of so respectable a Character as Monsr. Turgot, to afford Mr. De Cenis the encouragement, his zeal and trouble in coming to America to offer his Services, give him a Claim to; but such is the Situation of things in our Army, at this time, that I am necessarily deprived of that Satisfaction. Our Corps being already formed and fully Officered and the number of Foreign Gentn. already commissioned and continually arriving with fresh applications, throw such obstacles in the way of any future appointments, that every new arrival is only a new Source of embarrassment to Congress and myself, and of disappointment and chagrin to the Gentn. who come over. Had there been only a few to provide

[24] Capt.-Lieut. James McClure, of the Second Continental Artillery. He was a captain in the Fourth Continental Artillery in April, 1781; retired in January, 1783.

[25] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent is in the Maryland Historical Society, and varies in capitalization and other minor verbal particulars from the above draft.

for, we might have found employment for them in a way advantageous to the Service and honorable to themselves; but as they have come over in such Crowds, we either must not employ them, or we must do it, at the expence of one half the Officers of the Army, which you must be sensible would be attended with the most ruinous effects, and could not fail to occasion a general discontent. It is impossible for these Gentlemen to raise Men for themselves; and it would be equally impolitic and unjust, to displace others, who have been at all the trouble and at considerable expence in raising Corps, in order to give them the command; Even where vacancies happen, there are always those who have a right of Succession by Seniority, and who are as tenacious of this right as of the places they actually hold; and in this they are justified by the Common principle and practice of all Armies, and by Resolutions of Congress. Were these vacancies to be filled by the foreign Officers, it would not only cause the resignation of those who expect to succeed to them; but it would serve to disgust others, both through friendship to them, and from an apprehension of their being liable to the same inconvenience themselves. This, by rendering the hope of preferment precarious, would remove one of the principal Springs of emulation, absolutely necessary to be upheld in an Army.

Besides this difficulty, the error we at first fell into of prodigally bestowing rank upon foreigners, without examining properly their pretentions, having led us to confer high ranks upon those who had none, or of a very inferior degree, in their own Country; it now happens that those who have really good pretentions, who are men of Character, abilities and Rank will not be contented, unless they are introduced into some of the highest stations of the Army, in which it needs no arguments to convince you, it is impossible to gratify them.

Hence their dissatisfaction and the difficulty of employing them are increased.

These obstacles reduce us to this dilemma; either we must refuse to Commission them at all, and leave all the expence, trouble and risk that have attended their coming over, uncompensated; or we must Commission them without being able to incorporate or employ them, by which means, enjoying the public pay and an unmeaning rank, they must submit to the mortification of being mere Cyphers in the Army. This last, to some of them, may not be disagreeable; but to Men of Sentiment, and who are actuated by a principle of honor and a desire to distinguish themselves, it must be humiliating and irksome in the extreme.

From these considerations, it would be both prudent and just to discourage their coming over, by candidly opening the difficulties they have to encounter, and if after that, they will persist in it, they can only blame themselves. I am sensible, Sir, that it is a delicate and perplexing task to refuse applications of Persons patronised (as I suppose often happens) by some of the first Characters in the Kingdom, where you are, and whose favor it is of importance to conciliate; But I beg leave to suggest whether it would not be better to do that, than by compliance, to expose them to those mortifications which they must unavoidably experience; and which they are too apt to impute to other Causes, than the true and may represent under very disadvantageous colors. Permit me also to observe to you, that even where you do not promise any thing; but simply give a line of recommendation, they draw as Strong an assurance of success from that, as from a possitive engagement, and estimate the hardship of a disappointment nearly the same in one case as in the other. I am &ca.[26]

[26] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, near the Cross Roads,
August 17, 1777.

Parole Providence. Countersigns Newport, Kingston.

The Commander in Chief is pleased to approve of the following sentences of a General Court Martial held the 14th. instant, whereof Col. Spencer was president, and orders them to be put in execution forthwith—viz—

William Jackson, charged with "Desertion from the 2nd. New Jersey regt., and inlisting into a company of artificers." The Court are of opinion the prisoner is guilty of the charges exhibited against him; But as the prisoner was confined in the main guard-house, at Middlebrook, at the time Thomas Smith was shot, for the offences he is now found guilty of, and was released from confinement in consequence of His Excellency the Commander in Chief's pardon; they are of opinion he should receive no punishment. They are likewise of opinion he should be sent to the 2nd New-Jersey regiment, to serve the time he inlisted for; and the officer of the company he belongs to, in that regiment, shall settle with Capt. Roe[27] for the bounty the prisoner received from him, and other charges he has against him (if the pay due the prisoner during the time he served in the company of artificers is not sufficient for that purpose) And the money paid by the prisoner's officer to Capt. Roe shall be stopped out of the prisoner's wages.

Capt. Holmes,[28] of the 4th. New Jersey regt. charged with "Going into one Palmer's garden, and tearing cucumbers from the vines, and abusing and striking Doctor Smith."[29] The court

[27] Capt. Jesse Roe, of Flower's artillery artificers regiment.

[28] Capt. James Holmes, of the Fourth New Jersey Regiment. He resigned in March, 1778.

[29] Rev. William Smith.

having considered the charge and evidence produced to them, are of opinion, that the prisoner took cucumbers from the vines, in Palmer's garden, and he was justifiable in doing it, as he had leave. They are of opinion the prisoner did strike Doctor Smith: But as he gave the first offence, the Court are of opinion, he deserved the treatment he received.

The Court took into consideration, to what regiment Nathaniel Anster, tried as a soldier of the 5th. Pennsylv. regiment, and punished for *Desertion* from that regt. properly belongs, at the request of Capt. Bartholomew[30] of the 5th. Pennsylvania regiment and Lieut. Hammitt[31] of Col. Spencer's regt. The court having considered the several papers produced to them by each of the claimants, are of opinion, that Nathaniel Anster properly belongs to the 5th. Pennsyl. regiment, and that Capt. Bartholomew shall stop out of Ansters wages four dollars per month, until Lieut. Hammitt is fully paid his account against Anster, and pay them to Lieut. Hammitt.

William Rickett of the 12th. Pennsylv. Battalion, charged with "being a sleep on his post when over prisoners," pleaded guilty, and begged for mercy; sentenced to receive thirty nine lashes on his bare back.

Moses Farrell, of the 5th. Pennsylv. regt. charged with "deserting from the said regiment, inlisting into another corps; after which being taken, deserting again, and persuading an exceeding good soldier to desert with him." Acquitted of the charges exhibited against him.

Ensign McMichael[32] of Col. Stewart's regiment charged with "assaulting and striking with his sword, William Wright, a centinel in the execution of his duty." The court, having

[30] Capt. Benjamin Bartholomew, of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment. He was wounded at the Battle of Brandywine in September, 1777; retired in January, 1783.

[31] Lieut. John Hammit, of Spencer's Additional Continental regiment.

[32] Ensign William McMichael, of Stewart's Pennsylvania State regiment. He was dismissed in March, 1778.

considered the charge and evidence, are of opinion the prisoner struck William Wright, a Centinel, with his fist, while on his post; but on account of his insolence, and charging the bayonet on the prisoner, they sentence the prisoner to receive a private reprimand from the Colonel of the regiment he belongs to.

The Commander in Chief is anxious to have the ranks of the Pennsylvania field officers adjusted. The board of General officers which was appointed to sit for that purpose the 15th. instant, will sit to morrow at Genl. Greene's quarters, at the hour to which they adjourned. The Commander in Chief wishes the board to be as full as possible; and desires the General Officers of the day to attend the board in preference to any other duty.

General Court-Martials are frequently prevented doing business, by means of the non-attendance of some of the members; which occasions such delays as are greatly injurious to the service. In time to come, if any officer is appointed president of a General Court Martial, and thro' sickness, or other unavoidable accident, cannot attend, the Brigade Major of the brigade to which he belongs, is to give notice thereof, immediately to the Adjutant General. And if any member is, by the like means, rendered unable to attend, such member is to give immediate notice thereof to the Adjutant of the regiment he belongs to, that another may be returned in his stead: And upon the first appointment of a General Court Martial, each Brigade Major is to return the names of the members, furnished from his brigade, to the Adjutant General, at or before the hour appointed for the sitting of the court.

By the returns given in by the Brigadiers, pursuant to the orders of the 13th. instant, it appears that many officers are absent without leave; that some have furloughs for sixty days, and others without limitation at all. With respect to those who are absent without leave, the General desires, that the Brigadiers,

to whose brigade they belong, will order them to join it immediately, and have a strict enquiry (which is to be reported) into their conduct for so doing: and with respect to unlimited furloughs, or furloughs for sixty days, he desires that no more such be given, without the consent of the Commander in Chief; as there are very few cases that can justify such indulgences in the active part of a campaign. Those who have exceeded the time limited in their furloughs, are also to be ordered to join, and to account satisfactorily for their conduct.

The ground being very wet, the Quarter Master General is to procure as much straw (from which the grain has been threshed) as possible, and distribute the same in the most equal manner among the troops.

A gill of *rum,* or other *spirit* is to be issued to day, to each non-commissioned officer, soldier and waggoner.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Qurs., Bucks County, August 18, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have yours of the 15th. As it appeared clearly from the account sent out by the Enemy, that Palmer was really an Officer of theirs, he deservedly suffered for being found lurcking about our posts, and was a Spy in the truest sense of the word.

I am Surprised at the conduct of the Militia of Connecticut, who, because they find no Enemy directly at their own doors, refuse to stay and assist their Neighbours. They do not consider, that the Northern Army cannot be reinforced and the State of New York saved without they will consent to Garrison Peeks Kill. I therefore desire, that you will inform Govr. Trumbull of these circumstances, and call upon him for a certain number of Militia to continue in Service for three Months at least, that we may know what we have to depend upon. I cannot by any

means consent to Genl. Sullivan's Division returning to Peeks Kill, while Genl. Howe's destination remains a secret. If he is gone Southward, which now seems probable, that division is absolutely necessary to this Army, to enable us to give him proper opposition.

The Paymaster General shall be informed of the want of Cash in your department.

I desire you will keep, as many of the Militia as possible, till they are releived in a regular manner; those that come out, should at least remain as long as the Militia of New York who have been more harrassed and have more reason to complain on every account, than any upon the Continent. I am etc.

P. S. When any deserters come out from the British Army they have been paid four dollars, and if they bring out their Arms ten dollars more for them. Be pleased in future to pay those Sums and certify upon their passes that they have been paid, otherwise they claim it again.

To BARON DE HOLTZENDORFF[33]

Head Qurs., Camp at Cross Roads, August 18, 1777.

Sir: I have the pleasure of your favour of the transmitting me the plan of a military work, which you propose to publish, and requesting my protection of the same.[34] As I have not seen the work, I cannot undertake the determine what degree of merit it may have a claim to; but if it be well executed upon the plan you exhibit, the few good books we have circulating in this Country on the Military art, afford a favourable prospect of the publication being attended with success and

[33] One of the officers sent over by Deane.

[34] The baron's letter to Washington, dated August 16, and his "Prospector Essay General sur La Tactique Prussienne orné du Planches" are in the *Washington Papers.*

utility. I shall be happy to give it all the encouragement in my power and to find that the event may answer your expectations. You do not mention whether you intend to publish in the French or in the English language. You must be sensible that the Work will be more generally useful and have a much more extensive circulation in the one than in the other. I doubt not, before you commit it to the press, you will consult with your friends and make yourself acquainted with every Circumstance necessary to be taken into consideration, that you may be the less liable to disappointment, in whatever advantages you may expect will be derived from it.

I inclose you a letter to General Greene, informing him that I have attached you to his division, and that you are to do duty as Lieutenant Colonel, in the general roster of that division. I am etc.[35]

To CAPTAIN THOMAS NELSON, JUNIOR

Neshamini Camp, August 18, 1777.

Sir: I have been favoured with your Letter of the 7th. Instt. You plead so powerfully and urge so many reasons to leave the Army, that I cannot refuse your request. The principle cause of your Application, however, you have not explicitly stated, but yet I presume my conjectures respecting it, are just and right. I suppose it is your marriage with Miss Cary. You will be pleased to accept my best wishes for your mutual happiness, and to make a tender of my Compliments to your Father and Friends upon the occasion. I am &ca.[36]

[35] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[36] The copy is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, said to be an A. L. S., is now in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society. A copy, signed by Washington, was in the possession of a dealer in 1890, and Toner notes that it had, interlined in the writing of Washington, after the word "request": "Although it is with regret I see a Gentleman go out of it."

To CAPTAIN VAN SWEARINGEN[37]

Head Qutrs., Bucks County, August 18, 1777.

Sir: It being represented, that several of the men in a Detachment under your Command, as Captain from the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, which composes part of the Corps commanded by Colo. Daniel Morgan, made up of Detachments from Several Regiments, have claims against the United States for Horses and other necessaries furnished the said Regiment, for which they have received no satisfaction; Also, that you and the Officers under you, in the said Detachment, have charges of the like nature and for money advanced some privates of the said Regiment, who have died, been killed, or taken prisoners. And it being impracticable at this time, to examine and adjust the said Claims, as the said Corps Commanded by Colo. Morgan is under orders to march and join the Northern Army. These are to authorize and require you, to state and Settle the said Claims before Colo. Morgan, Lieutt. Colo. Butler and Major Morris, or any two of them, who are empowered to liquidate the same, producing to them such Vouchers, as you are possessed of, and making such proofs to the Account, as may be deemed necessary; Which being done and Certified under the Hands of them, or any two of them, you will advance, of your own Money, to your Officers and Men such Sums, as shall appear to be due them on the said Settlement. And I do hereby agree, on behalf of the United States of America, that the Money so advanced, with what shall appear on the said Settlement to be due yourself, shall be paid to you or your Order.[38]

[37] Of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. He was wounded and taken prisoner at Stillwater, N. Y., on September 19; resigned in August, 1779; captain of Kentucky Militia in 1791; killed at St. Clair's defeat on November 4 of that year.

[38] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To BENJAMIN HARRISON

Neshamini Bridge, August 19, 1777.

Dr. Sir: If I did not misunderstand, what you, or some other Member of Congress said to me, respecting the appointment of the Marquis De la Fayette[39] he has misconceived the design of his appointment, or Congress did not understand the extent of his views; for certain it is, if I understand *him,* that he does not conceive his Commission is merely honorary; but given with a view to Command a division of this Army. True, he has said that he is young, and inexperienced, but at the same time has always accompanied it with a hint, that so soon as *I* shall think *him* fit for the Command of a division, he shall be ready to enter upon the duties of it, and in the meantime has offered his service for a Smaller Command; To which I may add, that he has actually applied to me (by direction he says from Mr. Hancock) for Commissions for his two Aide de Camps.

What the designs of Congress respecting this Gentn. were, and what line of Conduct I am to pursue, to comply with their design, and his expectations, I know no more than the Child unborn and beg to be instructed. If Congress meant, that this Rank should be unaccompanied by Command I wish it had been sufficiently explain'd to him. If on the other hand, it was intended to vest him with all powers of a Major General, why have I been led into a Contrary belief, and left in the dark with respect to my own Conduct towards him? This difficulty, with the numberless applications for employment, by Foreigners, under their respective appointments, adds no small embarrassment to a Command, which, without it, is abundantly perplex'd, by the different tempers I have to do with and different modes which the respective States have pursued

[39] Congress had resolved (July 31) that Lafayette receive the rank of major general.

to nominate and arrange their Officers; The combination of all which is but a too just representation of a great Chaos, from whence we are endeavouring (how successfully, time can only tell) to draw some regularity and order.

I was going to address Congress for Instructions, in the case of the Marquis de la Fayette, but upon second thought concluded to ask some direction of my conduct in this matter, through a Member; and therefore have imposed this task upon you. Let me beseech you then, my good Sir, to give me the Sentiments of Congress on this Matter, that I may endeavour, as far as it is in my power, to comply with them;[40] with respect to Commissions for his Aid de Camps, I told him that I should write to Mr. Hancock about them, and wish to be instructed. The Marquis is now in Philadelphia but expected up this day or to morrow. With sincere regard. I am, etc.[41]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL PREUDHOMME DE BORRE

Cross Roads, August 19, 1777.

Sir: I have received your favour of the 17th., by which I perceive you are inclined, in preference to have an American Gentleman appointed to the office of your Brigade Major, and for

[40] On August 20 Harrison replied to Washington as follows: "I remember well a Conversation's passing betwixt you and I on the subject of the Marquis de la Fyatte's Commission, and that I told you it was merely Honorary, in this light I look'd on it, and so did every other member of Congress, he had made an agreement with Mr. Deane, but this he gave up by Letter to Congress, not wishing as he said to embarrass their affairs, Mr. Duer who presented this Letter assur'd us he did not wish or desire Command, but gave us to understand his chief motive for going into our Service was to be near you, to see Service, and to give him an Eclat at home, where he expected he would soon return, these you may depend on it were the Reasons that induced Congress to Comply with his request, and that he could not have obtain'd the Commission on any other terms; The other Day he surprised every body by a letter of his requesting Commissions for his officers, and Insinuating at the same time that he should expect a Command as soon as you should think him fit for one; depend on it, Congress never meant that he should have one, nor will not countenance him in his applications, I had it not in my power yesterday to get their opinions on the subject, but will do it soon."

[41] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

that purpose have recommended Captn. McConnell[42] of Colo. Hazen's Regiment, to my approbation. My only reasons for mentioning what I did in my last, were, that I thought it might be more agreeable to you, to have one of your own Countrymen in your family, and that it would be a means of giving a handsome employment, to some one of those French Gentlemen of merit, who are Commissioned in our Army, without being attached to any particular Service. But as I find you are otherwise inclined, I have not the least objection to your pursuing your inclination in the appointment of Captn. McConnell. I am etc.[43]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE

Neshamini Camp, August 19, 1777.

Sir: I wish thro' you, Sir, to return my thanks to the Pennsylvania Officers, who subscribed the Memorial you delivered me a few days since, for the obliging Sentiments they are pleased to entertain of me. At the same time, you will inform them, that I am fully sensible of the justice, in which they Complain respecting the exorbitant price of Goods and necessaries is founded, and that I painfully foresee the disagreeable consequences the measure leads to. My wishes are, that the abuse of which they complain, should be restrained, but I know not how it is to be effected. I have represented the matter to the Congress, and have the most implicit confidence, that they will adopt any means that are practicable, to remedy the evil. They feel it sensibly, and it is felt by all; but a mode of redress, I fear, will be difficult to find, as it has ever been in instances of a like nature. I am not sanguine in my expectations, that they will

[42] Capt. Matthew McConnell, of the Second Canadian Regiment. He was appointed brigade major by de Borre; wounded and taken prisoner at the Battle of Brandywine; transferred to the Invalid Regiment in February, 1781, and served to close of the war.

[43] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

remove the grievances totally, yet I should hope that it may be done in part, thro' their deliberations and the interposition of the Legislative and Executive powers in the Several States. I can only assure the Gentlemen, I shall ever be happy in affording my exertions to suppress any public abuses, so far as shall be compatible with my Situation; more, I am persuaded, they will never wish or expect of me.

I have also laid the Subject of Rations before the Congress, and doubt not, but it will have their early Attention. This you will in like manner communicate to the Gentlemen.

In respect to the period, from which the augmented pay is to be drawn, the line has been already settled by Congress. They determined, that the Officers appointed to serve in the present Army, should receive it from the time of their Appointments by their respective States. In conformity to this Rule, they have been paid without deviation, that I recollect. If there are any who have not, it has been owing to their own Omissions, or if the augmented pay has been extended in any case to a remoter period for its commencement, it escaped my observation. I would also add, that if this Resolution had not been passed, I should not have considered myself authorized to grant Warrants for the augmented pay of any time preceding the 1st. of January; conceiving, that the old would have continued till the last of December, that being the day when the Service of the late Army generally expired, and that the augmented pay was intended for the new. I am etc.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, near the Cross Roads, August 19, 1777.

Parole Plymouth. Countersigns Princeton, Pluckimin.

The following are the sentences of a General Court Martial, held the 7th, 12th and 16th inst: of which Col Sheldon was president.

Edward Willcox, Quarter Master to Capt. Dorse's[44] troop charged with "Desertion, taking a horse belonging to Col. Moylan's regiment, and a trooper with his accoutrements," found guilty and sentenced to be led round the regiment he belongs to, on horseback, with his face towards the horses tail, and his coat turned wrong side outwards, and that he be then discharged from the army. The Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders it be put in execution immediately.

George Kilpatrick, and Charles Martin, Serjeants, Lawrence Brown, and Enoch Wells Corporals, Daniel McCarty, Patrick Leland, Philip Franklin, Jacob Baker, Thomas Orbs, Adam Rex, Frederick Grimer, Daniel Cainking, Christian Longspit, Henry Whiner and Nicholas Walma, privates, in Col. Moylan's regiment of light dragoons, severally charged with "mutiny and desertion," found guilty of desertion and adjudged worthy of death. The Court esteemed the prisoners (excepting Serjeant Kilpatrick) objects of compassion, and as such recommended them to the Commander in Chief. The General is pleased to grant them his pardon, and the like reason which led the court to recommend them to mercy, joined with others, induces the General to grant his pardon to Serjt. Kilpatrick also; at the same time, the prisoners are to consider that their crimes are of a very atrocious nature, and have by the Articles of War, subjected them to the punishment of *death,* that the remission of their punishment is a signal act of mercy in the Commander in Chief, and demands every grateful return of fidelity, submission, obedience and active duty, in any future military service which he shall assign them. The prisoners are to quit the horse, and enter into the foot service, in the corps to which they shall be assigned.

Francis Fawkes and George House of Col. Moylan's regiment, tried by the same Court Martial, being charged with

[44] Capt. Thomas Dorsey, of the Fourth Continental Dragoons.

"Mutiny and desertion," are found guilty; but some favorable circumstances appearing in their behalf, they were sentenced to receive twenty-five lashes on their naked backs, and be dismissed from the horse service. The Commander in Chief approves the sentence; but for the reasons above referred to, and with the like expectations of amendment, remits the punishment of whipping. They will be disposed of in the foot service.

Thomas Rannals of Col. Moylan's regiment tried by the same Court Martial, charged with "Desertion," is found guilty, and sentenced to suffer *death*. The Commander in Chief approves the sentence; but the execution of the prisoner is respited till further orders.

Col. Lawson[45] having already had the command of the 4th. Virginia regiment, is to continue in the same.

Col. Elliot[46] is appointed to the command of the 6th Virginia regiment.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, near Cross Roads, August 20, 1777.

Parole Norway. Countersigns Norfolk, Norwich.

The order, by which Col. Armand's Corps was annexed to Genl. Conways brigade is countermanded.

The Commander in Chief is pleased to approve of the following sentences of a General Court Martial, held the 18th instant, whereof Col. McClenahan[47] was president.

Lieut. Ambrose Crane of Col. Stewarts regiment, charged with "Breaking his former arrest, and going to Philadelphia in company with two officers of Col. Stewarts regt. likewise under arrest, without Colonel Stewart's knowledge or permission," pleaded guilty, sentenced to be cashiered.

---

[45] Col. Robert Lawson, of the Fourth Virginia Regiment. He resigned in December, 1777; served subsequently as brigadier general of Virginia Militia.

[46] Col. Thomas Elliott. He resigned in September, 1777.

[47] Col. Alexander McClanachan, of the Seventh Virginia Regiment. He resigned in May, 1778.

Lieut. Benj. Holmes of the 2nd. Virginia regiment charged with "behaving in a manner unbecoming an officer and a Gentleman." The Court unanimously acquitted the prisoner of the charge exhibited against him.

Jacob Moon, Pay Master to the 14th. Virginia regiment charged with "Ungentlemanlike behaviour, and defrauding the soldiers out of their pay"; found guilty of ungentlemanlike behaviour, in giving the lie to Ensign Washnam[48] and Ensign Moore,[49] and not guilty of defrauding the soldiers out of their pay; sentenced to be reprimanded by the Colonel in the presence of the officers of the regt. he belongs to.

Such officers as have not yet settled their ration accounts, are notified that Mr. Bate[50] is obliged to leave Camp the first September; and that those accounts which are not brought in by that time, cannot be settled on this side Hartford. Quarter Masters who are not acquainted with the form of a Ration Abstract, can have one from Mr. Bate.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp Bucks County, August 20, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the honor to forward you a packet which just came to my hands from Genl. Schuyler.[51] In his letter to me he communicates an agreeable account of the face of Affairs at Fort Schuyler,[52] I therefore do myself the pleasure of inclosing you an extract. I have the honor, etc.[53]

---

[48] Ensign Richard Worsham, of the Fourteenth Virginia Regiment. He was lieutenant in November, 1777; taken prisoner at Charleston in May, 1780; transferred to the First Virginia Regiment in February, 1781; served to end of the war.

[49] Ensign John Moore, of the Twelfth Virginia Regiment. He was lieutenant in November, 1777; resigned in March, 1778.

[50] James Bate, Deputy Commissary General of Purchases.

[51] The packet contained, probably, Schuyler's letter to Congress of August 15, which is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress,* No. 153, vol. 3, folio 246.

[52] Schuyler's letter, dated Aug. 17, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers.*

[53] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Qurs., Bucks County, August 20, 1777.

Sir: By a Letter from Genl. Schuyler of 13th. Instt. it appears that you had not reached Still Water at that time, since which I have not had any Accounts from you but expect you had arrived there soon after that date. From the various representations made to me of the disadvantage the Army lay under, particularly the Militia, from an apprehension of the Indian mode of Fighting, I have dispatched Colo. Morgan with his Corps of Rifle Men to your Assistance, and expect they will be with you in 8 days from this date. This Corps I have great dependance on, and have no doubt but they will be exceedingly useful, as a check given to the Savages and keeping them within proper Bounds, will prevent Genl. Burgoyne from getting Intelligence as formerly, and animate your other Troops from a sense of their being more on an equality with the Enemy.[54] Cols. Cortlandt and Livingstons Regiments are also on their way from Peeks Kill to join you, they must of course be with you in a very few days, with these Reinforcements, besides the Militia under Genl. Lincoln (which by this time must be pretty considerable) I am in hopes you will find yourself at least equal to stop the progress of Mr. Burgoyne and by cutting of his supplies of Provision &ca. to render his Situation very ineligible.

Since the Enemy's Fleet was seen off Sinepuxent the 8th. Instt. we have no Accounts from them which can be depended on. I am now of Opinion that Charles Town is the present

[54] Gates joined the army at Van Schaick's Island, at the junction of the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers, 9 miles north of Albany, August 19, which was after the victories had been won at Oriskany and Bennington. He wrote to Washington on the 22d.: "I cannot sufficiently thank Your Excellency for sending Col. Morgan's Corps to this Army, they will be of the greatest Service to it; for until the late Success this Way, I am told, the Army were quite Panic Struck by the Indians, and their Tory and Canadian assassins, in Indian Dress." Gates's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

object of Genl. Howe's attention, though for what *Sufficient* reason, unless he expected to drag this Army after him by appearing at different places, and thereby leave the Country open for Genl. Clinton to march out and endeavour to form a Junction with Genl. Burgoyne, I am at a loss to determine.

General Schuyler's sending a Reinforcement up to Fort Schuyler I think was absolutely necessary, and I am of opinion that particular attention should be paid to the Inroads leading to that Quarter, as a Successful Stroke of the Enemy there, might be a means of encouraging the whole of the Six Nations to unite against us. I am etc.[55]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Camp in Bucks County, August 20, 1777.

Sir: I was yesterday favoured with yours of the 15th. by Captn. Cosden.[56] I am sorry to hear that you did not find your Brigade in that order, as to discipline &ca. that you could have wished, but I hope your attention to it in person will soon work the necessary reform.

I most sincerely wish that the Success of the recruiting Service had been such, that all our Brigades would have made a more respectable figure. In arranging the Army at the commencement of the Campaign, I endeavoured to make the Brigades, as equal as possible in point of numbers, some have out grown others by the increase of the Strength of particular Regiments, and that is the Reason why Genl. De Borre's exceeds yours, Hazens Regiment having increased considerably. In Brigading the Army, I went by the following Rule; I distributed the

[55] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald. The letter sent, which is in the New York Historical Society, is also in Fitzgerald's writing. It varies from the above draft in capitalization and other minor particulars.

[56] Capt. Jesse Corden (Cosden, Cozden), of the Fifth Maryland Regiment. He resigned in December, 1777.

Regiments according to their Ranks, for instance, if the Regiments of any particular State were Sufficient to form three Brigades, I gave the 1st. Regiment to the 1st. Brigade, the 2d. to the 2d. and the 3d. to the 3d., and the intermediate ones in same proportion. But when ever a Colonel was promoted to the Rank of Brigadier General, I made it an invariable Rule to take the Regiment which he had formerly commanded out of his Brigade, thereby to prevent all imputation of partiality from being made by the Officers of the other Regiments in the Brigade, for I know it is very natural for an Officer to have a strong affection for the Corps which he has commanded.

It is very uncertain whether our movement will be Northward or Southward, and therefore would not yet determine whether the detachment of the 5th. Maryland Regiment shall immediately join the Main Body in Sussex County. If matters should so turn out, that you are ordered to march Northward, you may then send back the detachment to join the Regiment, if we move Southward they will probably join of course.

I very much approve of your sending back a good Officer to pick up your sick and Straglers, and if you can cut off any of the numberless and useless Horses that attend our Army you will render a most essential piece of Service to the public and set an example that will do you Honour. The destruction that is made by them of inclosures, Grass and Grain is intolerable and is the cause of universal Complaint among the Inhabitants.

I have ever been very cautious of granting permissions to persons, who have been long resident, to go into New York, because their observations may do us great injury. But if you think Mr. Smith[57] is a person who leaves the Country on Account of his business and not as an Enemy to us, I will not refuse your request. You must lay him under injunctions, not to disclose any matters that may come under his observation on his

[57] Smith was a factor for the Glasgow firm of John Glassford & Co.

journey, and when he arrives at Philadelphia, if he will write me a line, I will grant him a passport and point out his Route, that he may not fall in with any of our principal posts. I am &ca.[58]

To WILLIAM BUCHANAN[59]

Neshamini Camp, August 20, 1777.

Sir: I have been favoured with your Letter of the 18th. In respect to the Subject of it I can only inform you, that it is necessary, there should always be a Sufficient Quantity of Spirits with the Army, to furnish moderate Supplies to the Troops. In many instances, such as when they are marching in hot or Cold weather, in Camp in Wet, on fatigue or in Working Parties, it is so essential, that it is not to be dispensed with. I should be happy, if the exorbitant price, to which it has risen, could be reduced; but if you have not a proper stock within your Command, from whence supplies necessary may be drawn, I cannot think of authorizing, by my consent, any Experiment, which can possibly injure the Troops. You are the best judge of the Quantity there is in Store and the certainty you have of getting it seasonably to the Army and of consequence most able to determine the propriety of purchasing more or not.

The case of the Sutlers deserves attention, and I am informed, Regulations have been come into in One Division of the Army, that will restrain their exactions or oblige them to quit their business. I am etc.[60]

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Camp in Bucks County, August 21, 1777.

Dear Sir: I was a few days ago favoured with yours of the 13th. and Yesterday with that of the 15th. I immediately

[58] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[59] Commissary General of Purchases of the Continental Army.
[60] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

forwarded the letter to Congress, who I dare say will be satisfied with your Reasons for remaining some little time at Albany for the purposes you mention.

I do not know that any particular Charges are exhibited against you, or in what way Congress intend to take the matter up; I observe by their Resolves of the 29th July that, "an inquiry be made into the Reasons of the evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independance and into the Conduct of the General Officers who were in the Northern department at the time of the evacuation. And that a Committee be appointed to digest and report the mode of conducting the inquiry." Whether it is to be made by Congress themselves or whether they intend it shall be done by a Court of General Officers, I will not undertake to say.

I am pleased with the account you transmit of the situation of matters upon the Mohawk River, if the Militia keep up their Spirits after their late severe Skirmish, I am confident they will, with the assistance of the Reinforcement under Genl. Arnold, be enabled to raise the seige of Fort Schuyler, which will be a most important matter just at this time. I am &ca.[61]

To COLONEL GEORGE GIBSON

Neshamini Camp, Bucks County, August 21, 1777.

Sir: Having received a Letter this afternoon from the Honble. John Page Esqr., advising that a Fleet of Ships was off the Capes of Virginia, on the 14th. Instt. and appeared to be standing in, you are to remain at Alexandria, with the Regiment under your command, subject to the further Orders of Congress, The Honble. Council of Virginia or Myself. I am etc.[62]

[61] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[62] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Neshamini Camp, August 21, 1777.

Sir: From the time which has elapsed, since Genl. Howe departed from the Capes of Delaware, there is the strongest reason to conclude, that he is gone either to the Eastward or Southward, and with a design to execute some determined plan. The danger of the Sea, the injury his Troops and Horses must sustain from being so long confined, the loss of time so late in the Campaign, will scarcely admit the supposition, that he is merely making a feint and still intends to return either to Delaware or the North River, without performing some enterprize first, in another Quarter. The probability is in favor of a Southern Expedition; because he has been seen, since his departure from the Capes, off Sinapuxent, steering a Southern course; and because, had his destination been to the Eastward, his arrival there from the general State of the Winds must have announced It before this, or his Fleet would have been discovered by some of the Cruisers on that Coast. If he is gone to the Southward, he must be gone far that way; For had Chesapeak Bay been his Object, he would have been there long since, and the Fact well established. Beyond that, there is no place short of Charles Town, of Sufficient importance to engage his attention. The extensive commerce, the vast accumulation of Military and other Stores in that Town, and its dependencies, with the éclat it would give his Arms, if he should unfortunately take it, afford him stronger inducements to direct his Operations there, than he could possibly have elsewhere.

Matters being thus circumstanced, an Important Question arises, How this Army is to be employed. If his Intentions are such, as I have supposed them, It appears to me, that an attempt to follow him, would not only be fruitless, but would be

attended with ruinous consequences. The distance is so immense, that Genl. Howe might accomplish every purpose he had in view, before we could possibly arrive to oppose him, and so long a march, through an unhealthy climate at this season would debilitate and waste a principal part of our Force. Added to this, after we had made a considerable progress, he might easily reimbark his Troops, and turn his Arms against Philadelphia or elsewhere, as he should think proper, without our being in a Condition to give the least aid.

As these, and many Other reasons, which will readily occur to Congress, will shew the impracticability of our counteracting Genl Howe in that Quarter, with any good effect, we have no other alternative left, than to remain here idle and inactive, on the remote probability of his returning this way, or to proceed towards Hudson's River, with a view of opposing Genl Burgoyne [with the greater part of our force,] or making an attempt on York Island, as the Situation of affairs shall point out. A successful Stroke, with respect to either, would be attended with the most signal advantages, and would be the best compensation we could make, for any losses we may sustain to the Southward. Besides these considerations, if after all our conjectures and reasoning upon the Subject, Genl. Howe should be gone to the Eastward, to co-operate with Mr. Burgoyne, the Army will be, by the movement proposed, so far on its way to prevent, I hope, the success of his Enterprize.

The above reasons led me to call a Council of Genl. Officers this Morning, to take the Subject of removing the Troops from hence into consideration, and I am happy to inform Congress they were in Sentiment with me upon the occasion, as they will perceive by a Copy of the proceedings then had, which I do myself the Honor of laying before them. Nevertheless, as it is a Movement which may involve the most important consequences, I have thought proper to submit it to Congress for

their deliberation and decision. If it is deemed expedient, we have perhaps not a moment to lose, in carrying it into execution; and under this persuasion, I have sent Colo. Hamilton, one of my Aids, who will have the honor of delivering this, to bring me the result of their Opinions.[63]

As the Northern department has been all along considered as separate and in some measure distinct; and there are special Resolves, vesting the Command in particular persons; in case it should hereafter appear eligible to unite the Two Armies, it may perhaps be necessary that Congress should place the Matter upon such a footing, as to remove all scruples or difficulties about the Command that could possibly arise on my arrival there. This I request, from a disposition to harmony, and from my knowing the ill and fatal consequences, that have often arisen from such controversies, and not from the most distant apprehension that one would take place upon such an Event. The Thing, However, is possible and to guard against it can do no injury.[64] I have the honor &ca.

P. S. That I may not appear inconsistent to advise and to act, before I obtain an Opinion, I beg leave to mention that I shall move the Army to the Delaware, to Morrow Morning, to change their Ground at any rate, as their present Encampment begins to be disagreeable and would injure their Health in a short time. Our forage also begins to grow scarce here.[65]

COUNCIL OF WAR

At a Council of General Officers, held at Neshamini Camp,
in Bucks County, August 21, 1777.

The Commander in Chief informed the Council that the British Fleet left the Capes of Delaware on the 31st. of July and have not been seen,

[63] See Council of War, Aug. 21, 1777, *post*.

[64] Congress answered this by resolve of August 23. See illustration facing p. 128.

[65] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The phrase in brackets is in the draft and was not in the letter sent.

from any information he has obtained, since the 7th. inst. when they were off Senapuxon and steering to the Southward, and propounded the following Questions for the Opinion of the Council.

1st. What is the most probable place of their destination, whether Eastward or Southward and to what part?

2. If it should be thought, from a consideration of all circumstances, that the Fleet is gone far to the Southward, will it be adviseable for this Army, taking into view the length of distance and unhealthiness of that Climate at this Season, to march that way? or will there be a probability of their arriving there in Time, should it be attempted, to give any effectual opposition to the Enemy, or to prevent them accomplishing their purposes?

3d. If it should not be thought advisable in such case for the Army to march to the Southward, How shall it be employed? Shall it remain where it now is, or move towards Hudsons River to act as the situation of Affairs shall seem to require?[68]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp at Neshamini, August 21, 1777.

Sir: Since I wrote to you on the 12th instant, on the subject of the Militia under the Command of Genl Newcomb, I have recd. another Letter from him which you have inclosed. By this it appears, that the Men were not employed in any way while they were at Red Bank, and that they are now anxious to get home to their farms, as they see no immediate occasion of their Services. As I had in some measure put them under the direction of Monsr. Du Coudray, I did not chuse to give them a discharge without consulting you, tho' in my opinion they had better be suffered to go home, than be kept discontented,

[68] The council decided unanimously that Charleston was the most probable destination of the British Fleet; that the army could not possibly arrive at Charleston in time to afford any aid; and that it should move immediately towards the North River. The officers in council were: The Commander in Chief, Greene, Stirling, Stephen, Lafayette, Maxwell, Knox, Wayne, Muhlenberg, Weedon, Woodford, Scott, and Conway.

as they will turn out with more spirit when they are wanted again. The Bearer waits upon you for your determination. I have the honor etc.[67]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Neshamini Camp, August 21, 1777.

Sir: I am this moment honored with yours of this morning, containing several pieces of intelligence of the Fleet's having been seen off the Capes of Virginia on the 15th Inst. I shall in Consequence of this information halt upon my present ground, till I hear something further.

Colo. Pinkney[68] of South Carolina paid me a visit two days ago; he informed me that the Military Stores in Charlestown and the Neighbourhood were immense and that he did not beleive that the Governor or commanding [Officer] there, had had the least intimation of the Fleets having stood to the Southward and he seemed very apprehensive, that if Charles town was their object, they would find them lulled into security and quite unprepared for an attack.

As I cannot yet think Genl Howe seriously intends to go into Chesapeak, I would by all means advise, that an Express be immediately dispatched (if one has not already gone) to warn them of their danger, to let them prepare in the best manner for defence, and to advise them to remove all supernumerary Stores.

I shall immediately call upon Govr. Livingston, to furnish the Number of Militia from the State of Jersey, demanded by requisition of Congress to Garrison the Forts in the Highlands, while the New York Militia March to reinforce the Northern Army. I have the honor etc.[69]

---

[67] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[68] Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

[69] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The word in brackets was added by Washington.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Bucks County, August 21, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the Honor to inclose you a Copy of Doctr. Franklin's Letter[70] in favor of Count Pulawski[71] of Poland, by whom this will be handed to you. I sometime ago had a Letter from Mr. Deane, couch'd in terms equally favorable to the Character and Military Abilities of this Gentleman.

How he can with propriety be provided for you will be best able to determine; he takes this from me, as an introductory Letter at his own request. I have the honor, etc.[72]

To JOHN PAGE

Neshamini Camp, Bucks County, August 21, 1777.

Sir: I was this afternoon honored with your Letter of the 15th.[73] The order of the Board of Council to the Regiment of Alexandria, in consequence of the Advices they had received, I think perfectly right, and I shall write to the Commanding Officer of it, by this Conveyance, to remain there, subject to the direction of Congress, Your Board or Myself.

The Conduct of Genl Howe is extremely embarrassing. He left the Capes of Delaware the 31st Ulto. and having never been heard of since the 7th Inst. off Sinapuxent. It was generally beleived here, that he had passed the Capes of Virginia, and that Charles Town in South Carolina was the object of his expedition. We were so fully persuaded of this, and convinced

[70] A copy of Franklin's letter, dated May 29, 1777, from Paris, is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.* Another letter of August 21 from Washington to George Clymer, introducing Pulaski, is printed in the *Historical Magazine,* vol. 3, p. 33.

[71] Comte Casimir Pulaski.

[72] In the writing of John Fitzgerald. The letter was read in Congress (August 28) and referred to the Committee on Foreign Applications.

[73] From Williamsburg, Va.

of the impracticability of affording it succour in time from this Army, that a Resolution was come into this Morning, to move to morrow towards Hudson's River, if approved by Congress, to avail ourselves of any advantages, circumstances might point out. The destination of the Fleet, if for Chesapeak Bay, must soon be known, and the Army will remain here, till further intelligence is obtained on the Subject. At present, I think it not unlikely, that their appearance off the Capes is to amuse and that their designs may yet be against Charles Town. I have &c.[74]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Camp in Bucks County, August 21, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the honor to inclose you a Resolve of Congress which I have just received, directing me to call on you for one thousand Militia from the State of New Jersey, to releive a like number of the Militia of the State of New York, at present in garrison at the Forts upon Hudson's River, who are to March to the Reinforcement of the Northern Army. The requisitions make no mention of any particular time of Service, but as the York Militia were engaged to the first of November, those of your state should if possible be drawn out for the same time. I shall be glad to hear how far and how Soon you think the request may be complied with.

I have just received advice from Virginia, that the Fleet was seen on the 15th. instant Standing in towards Cape Charles, but whether with a real design to enter Chesapeak could not be then determined. I have the honor etc.

P. S. If the first Class of Militia, cannot be called out for so long a time as the first of November, they may be relieved by another.[75]

[74] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[75] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, August 21, 1777.

Sir: By the inclosed Letters, you will observe how necessary it is for me to draw off the Regiments now in your State, Commanded by Colos. Dayton and Ogden, and consequently for you to order out some Militia to replace them, which I expect you will immediately do should it appear necessary to you. It would appear (for what reason I am totally unable to account), that Maryland is the object of General Howe's present attention. I shall therefore be under the Necessity of Moving the Army that way, though very contrary to my late intentions; as that Army will be too near us to turn our backs and act on a different Quarter. I am &c.[76]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, near Cross Roads, August 21, 1777.

Parole Dublin. Countersigns Dunkirk, Dorset.

The whole army is to march to morrow morning, the *General* is to beat at half after three; the *Troop* at half past four; and at five o'clock the troops are to begin their march. The Major Generals, Quarter Master General and Commissary General will receive their orders at Head Quarters, at five o'clock this afternoon. An orderly man from each regiment of horse to attend at the same time for orders.

AFTER ORDERS

Col Moylan's regiment of horse is to go the same route that the division commanded by Genl. Wayne does. Col Sheldon's is to take the route by Trenton with Lord Stirling's; and Bland's and Baylor's are to take the middle route over Coryell's ferry. All the horse, except a few orderly, may move forward and

[76] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

encamp about three or four miles (or a less distance if more convenient) beyond the respective ferries they cross at, on the road they are to march. After that, they are to receive orders respectively from the officer commanding the column, or division, they are with.

The army is to remain in its present encampment till further orders.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Qurs., Bucks County, August 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: By the inclosed, which is this Moment come to hand, you will perceive that the Enemy's Fleet have at length fairly entered Chesapeak Bay; Swan point being at least 200 Miles up. I desire you will immediately forward this Account to Govr. Trumbull, to be by him sent on the Eastward. As there is not now the least danger of General Howes going to New England, I hope the whole Force of that Country will turn out, and by following the great stroke struck by Genl. Stark near Bennington, intirely crush Genl. Burgoyne, who by his letter to Colo. Baum seems to be in want of almost every thing. I hope you will draw in such a Force of Militia, as will effectually secure your post against any attempt from New York. I shall be obliged to draw Genl. Sullivan with his division down to me; for by General Howe's coming so far up Chesapeak, he must mean to reach Philadelphia by that Route, tho' to be sure it is a very strange one. I am &ca.[77]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Neshamini Camp, Bucks County, August 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: By an Express this Minute come to hand from Congress, we are informed, Genl. Howe's Fleet is arrived in

[77] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Chesapeak Bay, and are high up in the North East part of it. I have inclosed a Copy of the dispatches upon the Subject, to which I refer you. You will immediately march with your Division and join this Army, proceeding with all convenient expedition, but not in such a Manner as to injure the Troops. You will cross the Delaware at Coryell's Ferry and avoid Philadelphia in your march down; You will be under a necessity of passing near it, but I would wish you not to halt so near it, that the Troops can straggle into the City. I am etc.

P. S. The inclosed Letter for Colo. Dayton, you will send him by Express. I was this day favoured with two of your Letters. The Subject respecting your Brother, Captain Sullivan, is now before Congress. Two or three days ago, I refered it to them a second time.[78]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL FRANCIS NASH

August 22, 1777. Sunset.

Sir: You will immediately proceed with your Brigade and Colo. Proctor's Corps of Artillery to Chester. If you can readily procure Craft to transport the Troops by Water you will. If you cannot, you will march by Land and send your Baggage by Water if there shall be Vessels Sufficient to carry it. Shou'd you be disappointed in this also, it must go by land in such Waggons as you can get for the purpose. I have this Minute received advice by express, that General Howe's Fleet is high up in the North East part of Chesapeak Bay. I am &ca.

P. S. Should you be obliged to march by land, I wish you to order your march so, as not to go thro' Philadelphia and to pass by it without halting your Troops near it.[79]

[78] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, which is also in Harrison's writing, is in the New Hampshire Historical Society. It varies in spelling and capitalization from the above draft.

[79] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

To COLONEL ELIAS DAYTON

Head Qurs., Neshamini, August 22, 1777.

Sir: You are immediately upon receipt of this to march your Regiment and Colonel Ogdens with all their Baggage by way of Trenton to join your Brigade. You will make all convenient haste on the march, and it is probable that you will fall in with the Brigade at Philadelphia or somewhere below that place. I am etc.[80]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Bucks County, August 22, 1777.

Sir: I am favored with yours of the 21st. Colo Bland who is now here, informs me, that the Cannon that were in the Raritan were weighed by his directions and that they are upon one of the Wharfs at Brunswick. One of them is 8 Inches and the other Seven in the bore, they are very long. The Colo thinks they are good. There are likewise two double fortified fours. They had better be sent for from Philadelphia, for we have not more Horses and Carriages than are wanting for the Army. I have in a letter to Congress, a very little time since, expressed my opinion of the impolicy of trusting any number of Cannon upon the Jersey Shore, as they cannot possibly be supported and I understood that Mr. Du Coudray acquiesced in the same opinion.

Having nothing to do with the Naval department, I will not undertake to determine whether the twelve pounders would be more safely and usefully employed on the Jersey Shore or in the Frigates or some kind of floating batteries, but I think in one of the Latter.

[80] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

Be pleased to send a further Supply of Blank Commissions, those recd. Yesterday are nearly expended.

Since beginning to write, yours of the 19th, respecting the Carolina Horse,[81] was put into my hands. If the Officers did not interfere, there would be no difficulty in disposing of the Men in Colo. Baylor's Regiment. It would be hard upon Baylor's Officers, who have put themselves to Considerable expense, altho' they have not met with Success in recruiting, to be reduced to make room for the Carolinians, and it would be as hard upon the Carolinians, to have their Men taken from them for the remainder of their times, to fill Baylors Regiment. All that I can do at present, will be to make a proposal to Col. Baylor to take both Men and Officers and endeavour to settle the command between them and his Officers, by doing duty in rotation. Be pleased to inform me of the number and the ranks of the Carolina Officers, with the dates of their Commissions, that I may explain the matter more fully to Colo Baylor, who I am informed recruits with more Success, since his Officers went to the Western parts of Virginia. You may communicate this to the Carolina Officers and see how they would be content with an arrangement of the above kind. I am &ca.[82]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quars., Camp at Cross Roads, August 22, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with your favor containing the intelligence of the Enemy's arrival in Chesapeak Bay and the Resolutions of Congress thereupon.[83]

[81] There were about 80 men, with officers sufficient for three troops of horse, then in Philadelphia, which had come from North Carolina with Brig. Gen. Francis Nash's brigade. The horses had been sold as unfit, and the men had from 12 to 18 months still to serve.

[82] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[83] Congress approved (July 21) Washington's determination to march toward the Hudson River, but on the receipt of intelligence of the British being in the Chesapeake directed the General "to proceed in such manner as shall appear to him most conducive to the general interest notwithstanding the resolution of Yesterday concerning

I have, in consequence of this account, sent orders to General Nash, immediately to embark his Brigade and Col Proctor's Corps of Artillery, if Vessels can be procured for the purpose and to proceed to Chester; or if Vessels cannot be provided, to hasten towards that place by land with all the dispatch he can. I have also directed General Sullivan to join this Army with his division, as speedily as possible; and I have issued orders for all the Troops here to be in motion to morrow morning very early, with intention to march them towards Philadelphia, and onwards.

I am happy to find Congress have ordered the removal of the stores from Lancaster and York to places of greater safety, which is, without doubt a very proper and necessary measure. With much respect etc.[84]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, near the Cross Roads, August 22, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

The Brigadiers and Officers commanding brigades, are to assemble to morrow morning at nine o'clock, at the tavern by the cross roads, to consider of the reports made to them relative to the prices of liquors sold by the sutlers; and to give their opinion upon the matter to the Commander in Chief, pursuant to the General orders of the 11th. instant.

A General court martial is to sit to morrow morning, at nine o'clock precisely, at the meeting house, not far from the cross roads, for the trial of all prisoners of the horse which shall be brought before them. Lieut. Col. White[85] of Col. Moylan's regiment is appointed president of this court.

his progress to the north river." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Aug. 22, 1777.)

[84] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

[85] Lieut. Col. Anthony Walton White, of the Fourth Continental Dragoons. He was lieutenant colonel commandant of the First Continental Dragoons in December, 1779; colonel in February, 1780; taken prisoner at Lanneaus Ferry, S. C., in May, 1780; exchanged in October; retired in November of 1782.

The Commander in Chief approves of the following sentences of a General Court Martial, held the 19th., 20th. and 21st. instant whereof Col. McClenachen was president.

Capt. Crump[86] of the 1st. Virginia Regt. charged with "Wantonly ordering Lieut. Smith under an arrest, when he knew he was executing the General's orders; for which he has been acquitted by a General Court Martial; and for afterwards attempting to vindicate his conduct, by giving in false evidence to the Court, declaring he did not know he was acting as Brigade Major to Genl. Muhlenberg at that time." Acquitted.

Hugh Culley of the 12th. Pennsylva. Regt. charged with "letting a certain prisoner make his escape, by the name of John Kephart, confined by order of His Excellency the Commander in Chief"—acquitted.

James McDavell, charged with "Desertion from the Sixth Pennsylvania regiment"—pleaded guilty—sentenced to receive fifty lashes on his bare back.

Lieut. Thomas Wishart of the 15th. Virginia regiment charged with "Neglect of duty and disobedience of orders"—found guilty of the charges against him, in the instance of neglecting to make a morning report to the Colonel of the regiment he belongs to, conformable to a regimental order; but it appearing to have proceeded from a want of knowledge of the order, and from no intentional neglect or disobedience. The Court sentenced him to be reprimanded in a private manner by the Colonel.

Brigade Major Swaine,[87] charged with "Repeated neglect of duty, particularly in not attending for orders the 17th instant in proper time, by which means His Excellency's intentions, who

[86] Capt. Abner Crump, of the First Virginia Regiment. He was dismissed in October, 1777.

[87] Brigade Major Joseph Swan (Swaine), of Muhlenberg's brigade. He resigned Aug. 25, 1777.

had ordered *straw* and *rum* to be furnished the men, were entirely frustrated and the soldiery, particularly the sick, were left exposed to the inclemency of the weather, in a much greater degree of want of those necessaries," found guilty of repeated neglect of duty, and not guilty of the remaining part of the charge; and sentenced to be reprimanded in General orders.

The Commander in Chief regrets, that he is so frequently obliged to censure officers in General orders for neglect of duty, and other offences, and wishes earnestly that by an attentive and punctual discharge of their duty, they would save him from a task so disagreeable and painful. Officers should in their own conduct set examples before the men of diligence and an exact compliance with every order—Delays are always dangerous; and in the military service, often attended with the most fatal consequences; especially must they be so in officers on whom the distribution of general orders depends. The General at the same time thanks those officers whose regard for the good of the service leads them to bring delinquents to Justice; and assures them that such a conduct will ever meet his warm approbation; and adds positively, that for any future remissness in Brigade Majors, in any part of their duty, he will certainly suspend them, 'till the pleasure of Congress be known concerning them; as there is no possibility of conducting the affairs of an army, without the greatest punctuality in the performance of the duties of their department.

George Myer, a waggoner, charged with "Desertion and horse stealing." Acquitted.

James Robinson of Capt. Talbot's[88] Company, in the 2nd. Pennsylvania regt., charged with "Desertion and inlisting into different regiments," pleaded guilty, and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back well laid on.

[88] Capt. Samuel Tolbert.

George Bignal of the 10th Virgr. regt. charged with "Desertion." No witnesses appearing against him, the court ordered him to be released from confinement for the present.

Adam Claise of the 6th. Virginia regt. charged with "Desertion." No witnesses appearing against him, the court ordered him to be sent to his company.

John Brumbler, of the 10th. Virginia regt. charged with "Sleeping on his post, when on Sentry, over prisoners," pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to receive twenty lashes on his bare back.

Edward Mealy of Capt. Thomas Bird's Company, charged with "Desertion," ordered by the court to be sent to his company.

James Byrne of Col. Stewarts[89] regt. charged with "Desertion," Ordered by the court to be sent to his regt.

As the Congress never have, and the General is persuaded never do intend, to give rank to any of the waggon masters in this army, except the Waggon Mr. General. They are ordered not to assume the titles of Majors, Captains, &c but to be distinguished by Division or Brigade Waggon-Master, as the case may happen to be. Waggon Masters are useful in every army; and will be supported in all their just privileges; but the way for them to obtain respect, is by a diligent and faithful discharge of their respective duties, without favor or affection to any one. This order is to extend to persons in every other department, who have not rank given to them, by their commissions, or appointments under Congress.

The Commander in Chief has the happiness, to inform the army, of a signal victory obtained at the northward. A part of Genl. Burgoyne's army, about 1500 in number, were detached towards New Hampshire, and advanced with a design to possess themselves of Bennington. Brigadier General Stark of the

[89] Col. Walter(?) Stewart.

State of New Hampshire, with about 2000 men, mostly Militia, attacked them. Our troops behaved in a very brave and heroic manner; they pushed the enemy from one work to another, thrown up on advantageous ground, and from different posts, with spirit and fortitude, until they gained a complete victory over them. The following is a list of the prisoners, killed and wounded &c. Vizt. 1 Lieut. Colonel, 1 Major, 5 Captains, 12 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 2 Cornets, 1 Judge Advocate, 1 Baron, 2 Canadian Officers, and 3 Surgeons; 37 British soldiers, 398 Hessians, 38 Canadians and 151 Tories taken prisoners. The number of wounded fallen into our hands, exclusive of the above, are about 80. The number of the enemy who were slain had not been ascertained, but it is supposed to be about 200. Their Artillery, consisting of four brass field pieces, with a considerable quantity of baggage, likewise fell into our hands. Our loss consists of about 20 or 30 killed, and perhaps 50 wounded.

The army is to march to morrow morning (if it should not rain) precisely in the time, and manner, directed in the orders of yesterday.

The two divisions which go to Coryell's ferry, will march in this order: Genl. Greene's first, then Genl. Stephen's, and then the baggage of both divisions, in the same order as the divisions march. Genl. Greene will order an advanced guard from his division and Genl. Stephen a rear guard from his division. Each guard to be under the command of a field officer. The officer commanding the rear-guard, will detach a subaltern and thirty men, to follow in the rear of the baggage; to pick up all stragglers who escape the rear guard; and to see that the sick and lame are not neglected, but properly disposed of among the waggons.

AFTER ORDERS

Notwithstanding the army is to march to morrow, the officers necessary and who shall be notified to constitute the General

Court Martial ordered to sit to morrow, to try all prisoners of the horse will stay behind, and hold the Court. The parties will notify their necessary witnesses, who will also stay behind and attend the court.

ADDITIONAL (EVENING) AFTER ORDERS

The army is not to march to morrow morning, but remain in it's present encampment 'till further orders.

FURTHER AFTER ORDERS. EVENING 10 O'CLOCK

The army is to march to morrow morning at 4 O'clock, precisely, if it should not rain, towards Philadelphia. The division under the command of General Wayne, will march and encamp near the Rising Sun, and fall into its proper place in the line of march the next day. The whole body of horse will march at the same time, and encamp to morrow night at the three mile Run; except the officers, and others, who are or shall be notified as members, or witnesses, necessary to attend the General Court Martial of the Horse to sit to morrow.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters; at Stanton,[90] near German Town,
August 23, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

No officer, or soldier, is to leave the encampment this evening, without leave in writing from the Major General or Brigadier under whom he acts; and they are desired not to give such leave unless there be very apparent cause for it.

The army is to move precisely at four in the morning, if it should not rain. The division commanded by Genl. Wayne is to take its proper place in the line (to wit, between Lord

[90] "Stenton," the home of James Logan. It is near the present Nicetown, Pa.

Stirling's and Genl. Stephen's division) and it is strongly and earnestly enjoined, upon the commanding officers of corps to make all their men who are able to bear arms (except the necessary guards) march in the ranks; for it is so great a reflection upon all order and discipline to see such a number of strollers (for they cannot be called guards) with the waggons, that it is really shocking.

The army is to march in one column thro' the City of Philadelphia, going in at and marching down Front street to Chesnut street, and up Chesnut street to the Common. A small halt is to be made about a mile on this side the City, till the rear closes up, and the line is in proper order. The divisions march as follows: Greene's, Stephen's, Lincoln's, Lord Stirling's. The Horse to be divided upon the two wings. Bland's and Baylors regiments upon the right. Sheldon's and Moylan's upon the left.

The following Order of March is to be observed. First—A Sub: and twelve light horse, 200 Yards in their rear a complete troop; the residue of Bland's and Baylor's regiments, 100 yards in the rear of these, a company of pioneers, with their axes &c in proper order. One hundred yards in rear of the pioneers a regiment from Muhlenberg's brigade; and close in the rear of that regiment all Muhlenberg's Field Artillery; then his brigade followed by Weedon's, Woodford's and Scotts, in order, with all their field artillery in their respective fronts. The park of artillery, and the artificers belonging thereto, in the center. Lincoln's and Lord Stirling's divisions following, with all their Brigade Artillery in the rear of their respective brigades. A regiment of Lord Stirling's division for a rear guard, and to be 150 yards from General Maxwell's brigade. Sheldon's and Moylan's horse 150 yards in the rear of this regiment, and a troop 150 yards in the rear of the regiments of horse.

The whole line is to march by sub-divisions, at half distance, the ranks and files at the most convenient distance for marching. Which is to be exactly observed in passing thro' the City, and great attention given by the officers to see that the men carry their arms well, and are made to appear as decent as circumstances will admit.

It is expected that every officer, without exception, will keep his post in passing thro' the city, and under no pretence whatsoever leave it; and if any soldier shall dare to quit his ranks, he shall receive Thirty-nine lashes at the first halting place afterwards. The officers will be particularly attentive to prevent this, not only in their own divisions, but in others also; if they should see an attempt of the kind. They are also to prevent the people from pressing the troops.

There is to be no greater space between the divisions, brigades and regiments, than is taken up by the Artillery, and is sufficient to distinguish them: And that the line of march thro' the city may be as little encumbered as possible, only one ammunition waggon is to attend the field pieces of each brigade, and very few the Artillery park. All the rest of the waggons, baggage, and spare horses, are to file off to the right, avoid the City entirely, and move on to the bridge at the middle ferry, and there halt, but not so as to impede the march of the troops, by preventing their passing them. Not a woman belonging to the army is to be seen with the troops on their march thro' the city.

The Waggon Master General and all his Assistants together with the division, brigade and regimental Quarter Masters, are to attend the waggons, and assist the field officers appointed to that duty, in preventing any men who are allotted to attend the waggons, from slipping into the city. As the baggage will be but a little while seperated from the column, a very few men will be

sufficient to guard it; and the General wishes to have as many of them, as are able, appear in the ranks, in the line of march.

The baggage and spare artillery waggons of each brigade, together with the waggons of the artillery-park, are to move in the same order that the brigades &c. do in the line, that they may more easily remit again when we have pass'd the city.

The soldiers will go early to rest this evening, as the General expects that the whole line will be on their march at the hour appointed. That this may be the case, each Brigadier is to appoint patroles, to take up all stragglers, from the camp and all others of the army who do not obey this order.

The directors of the hospital will order where the sick are to be sent.

The drums and fifes of each brigade are to be collected in the center of it; and a tune for the quick step played, but with such moderation, that the men may step to it with ease; and without *dancing* along, or totally disregarding the music, as too often has been the case.

The men are to be excused from carrying their Camp Kettles to morrow.

A proper guard from the horse is to be posted on the road leading to the city, to take up strollers from the camp.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

August 23, 1777.

Sir: I beg leave to inform you, that the Army marched early this morning, will encamp this evening and I expect within Five or Six Miles of Philadelphia. To morrow Morning it will move again, and I think to march it thro' the City, but without halting. I am induced to do this, from the opinion of Several of my Officers and many Friends in Philadelphia, that it may

have some influence on the minds of the disaffected there and those who are Dupes to their artifices and opinions. The March will be down Front and up Chestnut Street, and, I presume about Seven O'Clock.[91]

Notwithstanding the arrival of the Enemy's Fleet in Chesapeak Bay, and the seeming probability that Genl Howe will debark his Troops and attempt something, yet I would take the liberty to mention, that I think the several Works for the defence of the City should be carried on with the usual industry, and that no pains should be omitted to compleat them. I would also advise, that the same Look Outs for intelligence should be continued at the Capes, and the earliest information communicated of any thing material. For tho' the Fleet is in Chesapeak Bay, the Enemy may push in a Number of Vessels with Troops, and make an effort to effect some stroke against Philadelphia by Surprise. Such an event does not seem probable, while they have a large shew of Force in a Neighbouring State, but it will be prudent to guard against it. I have the honor etc.

P. S. I think some directions should be given Genl. Armstrong respecting the Militia.[92]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Camp, 3 Miles from Philadelphia, August 23, 1777.

Sir: On the march to day I was honoured with a Letter from Congress transmitting Sundry Resolutions[93] for calling out

[91] "The army marched through the city, and was allowed to make a fine appearance, the order of marching being extremely well preserved."—Pickering's *Journal*.

Ford quotes from Henry Marchant's letter to Governor Nicholas Cooke (Aug. 24, 1777): "The main body of his [Washington's] army this morning passed through this city. From the State House, we had a fair view of them as they passed in their several divisions. The army alone, with their necessary cannon—and artillery for each division, exclusive of their baggage wagons, guards, &c., which took another route, were upwards of two hours in passing with a lively, smart step."

[92] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The P. S., which is also in the writing of Harrison, is not in the draft.

[93] See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Aug. 22, 1777.

312

In Congress August 23: 1777

Resolved, That the President inform General Washington, That Congress never intended by any Commission hitherto granted by them, or by the Establishment of any department whatever to Supercede or Circumscribe the power of General Washington as the Commander in Chief of all the Continental Land Forces within the United States

By order of Congress
John Hancock Preside

Resolve of Congress on Washington's Authority as Commander in Chief
August 23, 1777

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
LIBRARY

reinforcements of Militia, to repel the threatned invasion by the Enemy, who have arrived high up in the North East part of Chesapeak Bay. Such as respect the Militia of Maryland and which make the Subject of this Letter, you will find inclosed. I request, that immediately after receipt of them, you will communicate the Contents to Colonel Gist and that you and he repair to Maryland without loss of time, for the purposes therein mentioned. I need not urge the necessity of expedition upon this interesting occasion and flatter myself nothing in either of your powers, will be omitted to answer the views of Congress in this instance and the important calls of the States at large at this crisis. I am etc.[94]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at Derby, August 24, 1777.

Parole Chester. Countersigns Derby, Easton.

General Greene's and Genl. Stephen's divisions are to march to morrow morning at four o'clock precisely, if it should not rain, towards Wilmington, and encamp on the first good ground beyond Naaman's creek. All the horse are likewise to march at the same time, and proceed to Wilmington, and encamp on the first good ground there, or in their neighbourhood thereof.

Genl. Lord Stirling's division, and that commanded by Genl. Wayne, with the park of artillery, will remain to morrow at their present encampment, and on Tuesday follow the other divisions, beginning their march at four in the morning, if it should not rain. The Commander in Chief possitively forbids the straggling of soldiers of the two divisions which remain behind, from their quarters; and the General Officers commanding these divisions will take every precaution in their power effectually to prevent it; and likewise to prevent an

[94] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

inundation of bad women from Philadelphia; and for both purposes, a guard is to be placed on the road between the camp and the city, with particular orders to stop and properly deal with both.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG

Wilmington, 6 o'Clock P. M., August 25, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have just received information, that the Enemy began to land this Morning about Six Miles below Head of Elk opposite to Cecil Court House. The informant says he saw two thousand Men, but he may be mistaken as to the Number. I desire you to send off every Man of the Militia under your command, that is properly armed, as quick as possible, if they were to begin their march this night while it is cool, it will be the better. They are to proceed to Wilmington, where they will receive orders for their destination.

I desire you will immediately send for Genl. Potter, and give him directions to come on to me with all possible expedition, you must supply his place in the best manner you can. The first attempts of the Enemy, will be to seize Horses, Carriages and Cattle with light parties and we must endeavour to check them at their outset. Whatever Militia are at Philadelphia, and equipped should be ordered down immediately. I am &ca.[95]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL FRANCIS NASH

Chester, August 25, 1777.

Sir: This will be handed to you upon your arrival in this Town. It is my desire that you make no delay here, but proceed with all convenient dispatch to Wilmington. If from the

[95] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Intelligence you receive here, you have reason to conclude there is no danger in going by Water it will be your best and easiest mode of Conveyance, taking with you a Person, whose knowledge of the Water can be depended on. At Wilmington you will receive my further Orders. Colo. Proctor's Corps of Artillery continues with you.

General Dickinson just informs me, that you could not procure Boats at Trenton. You will therefore continue your march as above directed. I am &ca.[96]

To COLONEL GEORGE BAYLOR

Wilmington, August 25, 1777.

Dear Baylor: I received your Letter of the 18th by this days post. I have never doubted of your assiduity and industry to raise your Regiment, and am but too well satisfied of the difficulties you have met with. I wish you to come on, with Such Men as you have ready, and that you will leave proper Officers to recruit the Troop you mention to be deficient, and also the Remainder of the Regiment, if you think there is a probability of doing it.

The Fleet are laying in Elk River, and by an Express received this Evening, the Troops were landing on the West side this Morning. As matters are thus circumstanced, I think, the upper Road should be your Route. I am &ca.[97]

[96] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

[97] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, who added the following postscript from himself: "My Good Friend—I give you joy from the Bottom of my Heart on Account of the late fortunate and Signal stroke given by *Old Stark*, and also on the threshing the Enemy got at Fort Schuyler. There was a cloud in the North, but I really think matters in that Quarter look well just now. I trust Burgoyne will be severely mauled. It is likely we shall have hot work in this Neighbourhood 'ere long. I wish it most cordially, for I flatter myself, Mr. Howe will be hard run. Farewel, Yrs. R. H. Harrison." The letter was furnished from the collection of Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Wilmington, 6 O'Clock P. M., August 25, 1777.

Sir: The inclosed intelligence has just come to my hands, Genl. Greene's and Genl Stephen's divisions are within a few Miles of this place, I shall order them to March immediately here. The two other divisions halted this day at Darby to refresh themselves, but they will come on as expeditiously as possible. There are about five hundred pennsylvania Militia at Chester and Marcus Hook that are armed, there are a number more unarmed. I have ordered all the armed immediately down. I do not know what Number of Militia of this State are yet collected, but I am told they turn out with great Alacrity. There are a great quantity of Public and private Stores at the Head of Elk, which I am afraid will fall into the Enemy's hands, if they advance quickly; among others there is a considerable parcel of Salt. Every attempt will be made to save that. When I get my force collected, I shall dispose of it in the most advantageous manner in my power. To this End, I purpose to view the Grounds towards the Enemy to morrow Morning. I am yet a Stranger to them. I have the honor, etc.[98]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Chester, 8 O'Clock, August 25, 1777.

Sir: I last night had the Honor of your favor of the 24th with its inclosures. No Letters came for you from Genl Schuyler [to my care], and therefore, agreeable to your request, I transmit you a Copy of the One I received from him and of the material papers which it covered. Among the Copies, you will find Genl Burgoyne's Instructions at large to Lt. Colo. Baum, pointing out the objects of his Command, when he was first detached.

[98] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

What we had before, was after he marched, and was an Answer to a report he had received from him. There was also a mistake in his name before, being called Bern in the copies sent by Genl. Lincoln.

I shall be happy, if the Account respecting Staten Island should prove true. I hope it will.[99]

Two Divisions of the Army moved this morning and will proceed after a short halt near this place to refresh themselves. The remainder will continue on their Ground to day, in order to rest and recover from the fatigue of the March yesterday and the day before. After Breakfast, I intend to set out for Wilmington with the Light Horse, to reconnoitre the Country and to obtain the best information I can respecting the Enemy. I have &ca.

P.S. The publication of Genl. Burgoyne's Instructions with a few Comments, I think, might be attended with many advantages.[1]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Wilmington, August 25, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

At a General Court Martial held the 23rd. instant whereof Lieut. Col. White was president. Capt. Henry Lee, of Col. Blands regiment of light horse, charged with "Disobedience of orders"—was tried. The sentence of the court is as follows, viz. "The Court having fully considered the charge and evidence are unanimously of opinion, that Capt. Henry Lee is not

[99] The rumor of Major General Sullivan's unsuccessful raid on Staten Island, which ended in a rear guard action. The British captured about 130 of Sullivan's men and their loss was about the same number. Sullivan's two letters to Washington of August 24 describing the raid are in the *Washington Papers*.

[1] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter was read the same day in Congress, and Burgoyne's instructions, which were dated August 9, were duly ordered published. They were issued in broadside (handbill) form and a copy is in the Library of Congress. Words in brackets are in the draft and not in the letter sent.

guilty of the charge exhibited against him, and do acquit him with honor. And they are also unanimously of opinion, that the charge against Capt. Lee is *groundless* and *vexatious,* and that Capt. Lee, in what he did, acted merely for the good of his troop." The Commander in Chief approves of Capt. Lee's acquital with honor.

The whole body horse are to parade at Head Quartrs. to morrow morning precisely at five o'clock. Each officer and man to bring with him one day's provision cooked.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, Wilmington, August 26, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

The officers commanding corps are to see that their men's arms are immediately cleaned and put in the best order possible; that the ammunition likewise be carefully inspected, and the proper number of rounds for each man completed; that the bayonets fix well; that the flints be screwed in fast, and every thing put in perfect readiness for action.

The troops are without fail continually to have one day's provision of meat on hand, ready cooked, and two days' rations of bread. should any complaint be made by the soldiers for want of such provisions, the commanding officers of corps must be answerable for it; unless it should appear, that the provisions were not to be had at the Commissary's; and in such case the deficient Commissary shall be accountable. Complaint has been made, that some regiments have lately been two days without provisions, owing to the negligence of their Commissary: Such conduct is insufferable and must be attended with the worst consequences. The Commander in Chief is determined to make an example, of the first Commissary, who shall be guilty of the

like negligence. The Commander in Chief likewise insists, that the Commissaries shall supply the troops with hard bread. The present most common mode of supply, by issuing flour which they make into *bad* bread, not only injures their health, but is attended with delays sufficient to frustrate the most important, and well formed enterprises. As the means therefore are now abundantly in their power, the Commander in Chief can admit no excuse, for their not supplying the troops with good bread.

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Wilmington, August 27, 1777.

Sir: I have received your two favours both of the 24th. informing me of the particulars of an expedition you have lately made to Staten Island.[2]

It is unfortunate, that an affair which had so prosperous a beginning should have terminated so disagreeably, as in a great measure to defeat the good consequences that might have attended it. I am however, glad to hear, that the Officers and Men distinguished themselves by their good behaviour; and if there are any who behaved more remarkably well, than others, I should be happy to take all the notice of them, consistent with propriety, that their conduct may appear to merit. I am not sufficiently acquainted with circumstances to form a certain judgment, of what might have been expected from this expedition; but from the view I have of them, and from your own representation of the matter, the situation of the Enemy seems to have been such, as afforded an opportunity of reaping much more decisive advantages, than were in fact gained.

As your division must no doubt have been greatly harrassed in this movement, their health might be very much injured

[2] See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Aug. 25, 1777, *ante*.

by pressing them too hard in their march to join me. I would therefore wish you to spare them, as much as may be necessary to avoid that inconvenience; at the same time, there ought to be no delay but what a proper attention to the health and accommodation of the Men really demands. I am &ca.[3]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Wilmington, August 27, 1777.

Dear Sir: I was favoured with your Letter Yesterday by Mr. Hindman. The measure you recommend respecting the Militia is extremely necessary and what I much wish to be done. It came under the consideration of Congress when the Fleet first came up the Bay and dispatches were sent by their Order to Genl. Smallwood and Colo. Gist to repair to Maryland to command them, at least the Quota called for by Congress. I expect these Gentlemen are now on their way for this command, but I shall be extremely obliged to you and Genl. Cadwallader, if in the mean time you will give your advice and assistance about forming and arranging such as may assemble previous to their arrival. Your interesting yourself upon the occasion, I think will be well accepted and may be attended with happy effects. I am etc.[4]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Wilmington, August 27, 1777.

Sir: I this Morning returned from the Head of Elk, which I left last night. In respect to the Enemy, I have nothing new to communicate, they remain where they debarked first. I could not find out from inquiry what number is landed, nor form

[3] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[4] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

an estimate of it, from the distant view I had of their Encampment. But few Tents were to be seen from Iron Hill and Grey's Hill, which are the only Eminences about Elk. I am happy to inform you, that all the Public Stores are removed from thence, except about Seven thousand Bushels of Corn. This I urged the Commissary there to get off, as soon as possible, and hope it will be effected in the course of the few days if the Enemy should not prevent, which their Situation gives them but too easy an opportunity of doing; The scarcity of Teams, in proportion to the demand, will render the removal rather tedious, though I have directed the Quarter Master to send some from hence, to expedite the Measure. A part of the Delaware Militia are Stationed there and about nine hundred more from Pennsylvania are now on the March [that way]. I also intended to move part of the Army that way to day, but am under the necessity of defering it, till their Arms are put in order and they are furnished with Ammunition, both having been greatly injured by the heavy rain that fell yesterday and last night. I have the Honor etc.[5]

To SAMUEL CHASE

Wilmington, August 27, 1777.

Dr. Sir: I am favored with yours of yesterday. Colonel Richardson's Battalion was left in Maryland, by order of Congress, to keep the disaffected in the lower Counties in order, if their presence was necessary before, it is certainly much more so now. The Enemy are in want of many necessaries, with which those people would undoubtedly supply them, if a Watch is not kept over them. I do not therefore think myself

[5] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

at liberty to recall the Battalion, except I am ordered by Congress. I am etc.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have yours of the 25th and am obliged for the Account you give me, of well affected and suspicious Characters, to which I shall attend. I have not an engineer to spare to go to Baltimore. Several of those who came over with Monsr. Du Coudray, are not employed yet, by applying to him, he will be able to point out a proper person. One division of the Army already wants a Major General, by General Lincoln going to the Northward. Genl. De Haas's Vacancy has not been filled up and Genl. Smallwood is ordered to Maryland; under those circumstances I cannot detach another Genl officer without injuring the Service. The Board of War ought to give orders, for the removal of the Continental Powder from the Neighbourhood of Baltimore, and if you will be kind enough to let Col. Flower the Commissary Genl. of Stores know of the Flints at Baltimore, he will purchase them if wanted. I am etc.[6]

To COLONEL GEORGE EVANS[7]

Wilmington, August 27, 1777.

Sir: After the men of your own, Colo. Hunters and Colo. Udree's[8] Battalions have refreshed themselves you are to march them to Christiana Bridge and there halt till further orders.

You are to get your Men as well covered, as the Situation of the place will admit of, and always keep them near their quarters, that they may be ready to move at a moments warning.

As most of the Men in this County have left their families at home and turned out in a spirited manner in defence of their

[6] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and Caleb Gibbs.
[7] Of a Delaware Militia regiment.
[8] Col. Daniel Udree, of the Pennsylvania Militia.

Country, it is hoped that the Troops under your command will not in the least injure their property, by destroying their Fences, Corn, or Fruit. I am &ca.

P. S. Your Ammunition is to be inspected, to see if injured by the Rain, and the Arms kept in good order.[9]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Wilmington, August 27, 1777.

Parole Susquehannah. Countersigns Delaware, Schuylkill.

The brigades and other corps are to be in such readiness as to march at a moment's warning. To this end the officers will see that the men are kept regularly supplied with as much provision as will, when fresh, keep; and the Commissaries are peremptorily ordered to provide a quantity of hard bread ready to deliver at any sudden call.

It is expected (as there is the greatest reason to believe that our service will be active) that every species of baggage belonging to both officers and men, will now be stored, except such as cannot be done without in the field, that the train of waggons may in consequence be reduced, and our incumbrance on this account lessened. To effect this valuable purpose, the sick are to be turned over to the Director General of the Hospital, and not taken with us, whilst the women are expressly forbid any longer, under any licence at all, to ride in the waggons, and the officers earnestly called upon to permit no more than are absolutely necessary, and such as are actually useful, to follow the army.

The number of horses, which are now so injuriously introduced, (contrary to all former practice) is also expressly forbid; as they have become a real nuisance in the army. It is expected therefore, that no officer, except those who are allowed forage,

[9] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

will henceforth keep a horse, but (as his baggage is carried for him) march on foot with his men: This, at the same time that it testifies a real regard to the service, will be setting a good and commendable example to the men; which in every instance ought, and it is hoped will be, the first object of a good and valuable officer.

Five waggons from each brigade are to be delivered immediately, to the Deputy Quarter Master General.

Genl. Greene's division is to march to morrow morning, and take post, on a piece of ground, which will be marked out for him, on White Clay Creek. And the militia from Chester (under the command of Col. Evans) is to march to Christiania Bridge, and there take post 'till further orders.

As the weather has been wet, and the ground damp, the men may be served with a gill of rum each.

AFTER ORDERS

General Stephen's division is to march to morrow morning, immediately after General Green's.

To COLONEL JOHN D. THOMPSON[10]

Head Qurs., Wilmington, August 28, 1777.

Sir: I have your favour of Yesterday by Lieutt. Veary[11] and it gives me pleasure to hear that your people are so unanimously bent upon giving opposition to the Enemy. I wish it was in my power to furnish every man with a firelock that is willing to use one, but that is so far from being the Case that I have scarcely Sufficient for the Continental Troops.[12] As it is needless to keep

[10] Of the Maryland Militia.

[11] Lieut. William Veary, of the Maryland Militia. Johnston's *Campaign of 1776* states that Capt. Edward Veazy, of an Eastern Shore independent company, was present in this campaign.

[12] This same day Tilghman wrote to Col. Benjamin Flower, ordering him, by Washington's direction, to forward from 500 to 1,000 muskets "as the bad weather has damaged many of late and there is no getting them put in order here with any expedition."

Men together without Arms, I would advise you to collect as many Arms as you possibly can and then class your Battalion; let the unarmed go home and at a certain period relieve their Companions. It is to be wished, that every Man could bring a good Musket and Bayonet into the field, but in times like the present, we must make the best shift we can, and I wou'd therefore advise you to exhort every Man to bring the best he has. A good fowling Piece will do execution in the hands of a Marksman.

As the Congress have ordered down Genl. Smallwood and Colo. Gist, to arrange the Militia of Maryland, they ought to be drawn together at some certain place, that these Gentlemen may meet them embodied and the more readily form a disposition. The Militia of Kent and below it, will Assemble at George Town and the Head of Sarsafras, from whence I shall advise parties to be sent down into Sarsafras Neck, to prevent the disaffected inhabitants from Trading with the Enemy and supplying them with Stock &ca. I think yours had as well assemble at the Head of Bohemia,[13] or any other place that you may think more convenient, from whence you may keep small parties along shore under intelligent Officers, not only to keep Boats from landing, but to observe the motions of the Enemy. Horses and Cattle, but Horses in particular should be removed from the Shores, and for this purpose some of the unarmed may be employed.

The intent of Assembling the Militia of Maryland near the Head of the Bay, is to be ready, to fall in upon the Rear of the Enemy shou'd, they move towards Philadelphia and to

Also, Harrison wrote to Flower to forward all the rifles in store, complaining that many of the cartridges Flower sent were too small for the bore of their muskets. "All belonging to the public are of the French and English bores and the Cartridges must be made to fit those sizes. If you have any 16 and 18 (Viz: Cartridges which require so many to the pound) now ready you are to transmit them without a Moments delay." The letters of Tilghman and Harrison are in the *Washington Papers*.

[13] Bohemia Manor, Delaware.

answer this end, I think they should be advanced as far as New Castle, from whence the distance to the Head of Elk is but short. If they cou'd cross Elk river, the Heads of Sarsafras and Bohemia would not be inconvenient, but you may depend that the Enemy will throw Vessels in the way to prevent the passage and oblige you to march round by land. I am etc.[14]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN CADWALADER

Wilmington, August 28, 1777.

Dear Sir: General Howe has advanced part of his Force about two Miles this side the Head of Elk and from the information of deserters and prisoners, there is reason to beleive he is either marching or soon will be, towards Philadelphia. If that is his object, and of which there can be but little doubt, I think many important advantages would be derived from the Militia's hanging on his Rear or Right flank, after he leaves Elk, while he is opposed by this Army in front or in such other way, as shall seem most advisable from circumstances. But then, I am wholly at a loss to whom to address myself respecting the Militia on the Eastern Shore, not knowing their Officers or where they are Assembled. The Congress thought proper to point out Genl. Smallwood and Colo. Gist to arrange and conduct them; who, owing I suppose to a miscarriage of the dispatches that were sent them, have not yet reached this place, nor have I heard any thing of them. Matters being thus circumstanced, and as the aid of the Militia is extremely necessary and no time is to be lost in obtaining it, I must request your Good Offices and interest in assisting to assemble, spirit up and forward them in the best manner you can, towards the Head of the Bay, that they may be in a situation to annoy the Enemy, should they

[14] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

make a push against Philadelphia, giving such advice and direction to the Officers as shall appear to you necessary and proper. I know well, that your situation in this instance will be delicate and not a little embarrassing, I feel myself in that predicament; Yet, I trust, the exigency of our Affairs will not only furnish an Apology, but will fully justify your interesting yourself upon the Subject. For the requisition I have made, I shall offer no Apology. It is the result of necessity and founded in the most implicit confidence, that you are and will be ready upon all occasions to afford every aid in your power to advance the true interest and happiness of your Country. Influenced by these considerations, I have made it, and have only to add, that I am etc.[15]

P. S. Several deserters have come in to day and our parties made between thirty and forty prisoners.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Wilmington, August 28, 1777.

Sir: Having endeavoured, at the solicitation of the Count De Pulaski, to think of some mode for employing him in our service, there is none occurs to me, liable to so few inconveniences and exceptions, as the giving him the command of the horse. This department is still without a head, as I have not, in the present deficiencies of Brigadiers with the Army, thought it advisable to take one from the foot, for that command. The nature of the horse-service with us, being such that they commonly act in detachment, a general Officer with them is less necessary, than at the head of the Brigades of infantry. In the

[15] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, which is also in Harrison's writing, is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It varies from the above draft in spelling and capitalization and contains the P. S., which does not appear in the draft.

absence of Genl. Smallwood, who is ordered to put himself at the head of the Maryland Militia, we shall have two brigades without General Officers.

But though the horse will suffer less from the want of a General officer than the foot, A Man of real capacity, experience and knowledge in that service might be extremely useful. The Count appears by his recommendations to have sustained no inconsiderable Military Character in his own country and as the principal attention in Poland, has been for some time past paid to the Cavalry, it is to be presumed this Gentleman is not unacquainted with it. I submit it to Congress, how far it may be eligible to confer the appointment I have mentioned upon him. They will be sensible of all the objections attending it, without my particularising them and can determine accordingly.

This Gentleman, we are told, has been like us, engaged in defending the liberty and independence of his Country, and has sacrificed his fortune to his zeal for those objects. He derives from hence a title to our respect that ought to operate in his favour as far as the good of the Service will permit; but it can never be expected we should lose sight of this. I have the honor, etc.[16]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Wilmington, August 28, 1777.

Parole Albany. Countersigns Kingston, Kildair.

Joseph Scott Esqr. is appointed Brigade Major to General Muhlenberg, in the room of Major Swaine resigned; and is to be obeyed as such.

The cases, or canisters of spare cartridges, are to be divided into eleven equal parts, and one such part delivered to each brigade, including the two in Genl. Sullivan's division and Genl. Nash's brigade. The Brigadiers are to distribute the cases in the

[16] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

most equal manner among the regiments of their brigades respectively; and the commanding officers of regiments among their men.

Col Sheldon's horse are to march to White Clay Creek, and take post near Genl. Greene's, and Genl. Stephen's divisions, where Genl. Greene shall direct.

AFTER ORDERS

A General Court Martial to sit to morrow at nine o'clock in the morning, at Day's tavern, near the park of artillery, for the trial of all prisoners which shall be brought before them. Col. Johnstone[17] is appointed president of this court.

ADDITIONAL AFTER ORDERS

A corps of Light Infantry is to be formed, to consist of one Field Officer, two Captains, six Subalterns, eight Serjeants and 100 Rank and File from each brigade.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Wilmington, August 29, 1777.

Parole Portsmouth. Countersigns Falmouth, Yarmouth.

Each Brigadier is to make return immediately to the Quarter Mr. General of the number of Arm-Chests necessary for carrying safely, all the spare arms, that may from time to time, happen to be in their brigades, by means of the sick, and other usual accidents.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Wilmington, August 29, 1777.

Sir: On my return to this place, last evening, from White Clay creek, I was honored with yours of the 27th with sundry

[17] Col. Francis Johnston, of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment. He retired in January, 1781.

Resolves of Congress, to which I shall pay due attention. The Enemy advanced a part of their Army yesterday to Greys Hill, about two Miles on this side of Elk, whether with intent to take post there, or to cover, while they remove what Stores they found in the Town, I cannot yet determine. I do not know what quantity of private property remained, but of the public there were [several] thousand bushels of corn and oats, which might have been removed also, had not most of the Teams in the Country been employed by private persons in bringing off very valuable goods. Our light parties yesterday took between thirty and forty prisoners, twelve deserters from the navy and eight from the army have already come in, but they are able to give us very little intelligence. They generally agree, that their Troops are healthy, but that their horse suffered very much by the voyage.

By a Letter from Genl. Gates, which you were pleased to transmit me yesterday, he requests, that Commissions may be sent to Brigadiers Glover, Poor and Paterson which I beg the favour of you to do by the return express. The two last lost theirs with their baggage at Ticonderoga, and Genl. Glover had none. I have the Honor &c.[18]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

½ after 8 OClock P. M., August 30, 1777.

Sir: It seems to be the Opinion of several of the prisoners and also of the deserters that have lately come out, that the Enemy intend to move to morrow morning. How well founded this Idea

[18] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and Robert Hanson Harrison, and the word "several" in brackets was inserted by Washington. The draft also stated that General Glover never had a commission, which Hamilton altered by striking out the word "never" in the letter sent.

may be, I cannot tell, but I thought it right to communicate it to you, that you may be watchful and guarded on all the Roads.

It will be well to place some of your Men at the pass on the Road which has been represented to be so advantageous, attending at the same time to the rest. If the Enemy come on, they will be well posted and may have an Opportunity of annoying them greatly. If otherwise, their being there will do no harm. They should be directed to lie quiet and still, and ought to be posted early to night, as the Enemy will most probably move, if they do at all, between two and three O'Clock. I am etc.[19]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Wilmington, August 30, 1777.

Sir: In consequence of the directions of Congress, I wrote you on the 23d Instt. by Express, requesting you and Colo. M. Gist to repair immediately to Maryland, to arrange, march and conduct the Militia of that State, which Congress had called for, Twelve Hundred and Fifty of which were to Assemble at Baltimore and at Hartford Towns, and Seven hundred and fifty more at George Town on the Eastern Shore, according to their then instructions. As you and Colo. Gist have not arrived yet, at my Head Quarters I presume my Letter never came to hand. From this Circumstance, and as the Militia are in much confusion for want of Officers to arrange and bring them on, and applications are constantly making upon the Subject, I request that you will communicate this Letter to Colo. Gist, and that you and he set out upon this command, without a Moments loss of time, calling upon me in your way down. Without some Leaders are appointed, to form and command them, It is more

[19] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

than probable, a great part will disband; or if they should not, will be in such disorder that they will be of no Service. I am etc.[20]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Wilmington, August 30, 1777.

Sir: Since I had the Honor of addressing you Yesterday, Nothing of Importance has occurred and the Enemy remain, as they then were. I was reconnoitring the Country and different Roads all Yesterday and am setting out on the same business again.

Sensible of the advantages of Light Troops, I have formed a Corps under the command of a Brigadier, by drafting a Hundred from each Brigade, which is to be constantly near the Enemy and to give them every possible annoyance. I have the honor etc.

10 o'Clock. This Minute 24 British prisoners arrived, taken yesterday by Captn. Lee of the Light Horse.[21]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Wilmington, August 30, 1777.

Parole Northampton. Countersigns Newbern, Norfolk.

Information being given by the Commissary General, that it is at present impracticable to supply the army daily with hard bread; the troops are to receive soft bread or flour, as the Commissaries shall be able to supply them. The Commissaries are nevertheless to exert themselves to the utmost, constantly to supply the troops with bread, either hard or soft, and without fail to have a large quantity of hard bread made ready, to be issued, whenever the army marches.

[20] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[21] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The 10 o'clock note was entered on the outside wrapper of the letter.

Brigadier Genl. Maxwell will take the Command of the corps of light Infantry.

Brigadier Genl. Conway, as eldest officer, will take the command of Lord Stirling's division, 'till the state of his Lordship's health shall permit his joining it.

John Kennon was on the 1st. of May 1777 appointed Pay Master to the 6th. Virginia regiment. The Commander in Chief approves of the appointment.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Wilmington, August 31, 1777.

Parole Rockingham. Countersigns Arlington, Abingdon.

Every officer commanding a troop or company is immediately to make out his muster-rolls to the first of September, that the whole army may be mustered with the utmost expedition. Officers commanding corps not annexed to any particular division, or brigade, will apply to the muster Master of the nearest division who will muster all such corps.

A General Court Martial is to sit to morrow at 9 o'clock in the morning at Mr. Lawson's at the Cross Keys near the Academy, for the trial of Lieut. Troup a prisoner in the provost. Brigadier General Knox is appointed president of this court.

Genl. Potter will order two battalions of Militia, (each to be 250 strong, rather more than fewer) to march, one to Richling's ford, and the other to Gibson's ford, to take post on the east side of the Brandiwine, and fix upon the best ground for defending those passes.

To COLONEL MORDECAI GIST

Head Quarters, Wilmington, August 31, 1777.

Sir: The Congress having called upon the State of Maryland, to furnish a number of Militia to assist in repelling the

Invasion of the Enemy by way of Chesapeak Bay and appointed Brigadier Smallwood and yourself, to arrange, conduct and command them: You are to repair, without loss of time to George Town on Sarsafras, on the Eastern Shore of that State, or elsewhere on the East Side of Chesapeak Bay, where the Militia are Assembling for the purpose aforesaid, and to arrange and form them, as soon as possible, into the best order you can; which having done, you are to march them immediately towards the Head of Elk within a convenient distance to harrass and annoy the Enemys right flank and the parties they may send out, either while they remain there, or in any march they may attempt towards Philadelphia or into the Country. For this purpose you will occupy the best posts you can, having regard to the security of your Corps against sudden attacks and surprizes by the Enemy. To prevent the latter, it will be necessary to keep out constant patroles and scouting parties, and you will also use every means in your power, to obtain good information of their situation and the earliest intelligence of their designs and intended movements.

You will report to me, an account of your arrival, the place where, the amount of your Force, and every circumstance from time to time, that you may consider material and necessary.

In a peculiar manner you will extend your care to the Cattle, Horses and stock of all kinds, lying contiguous to the Enemy and within such a distance, that there may be a probability of their falling into their hands. These must be driven out of their reach, and all Waggons and Carts removed that might facilitate the movement of their Baggage and Stores.

I shall not enlarge upon this occasion, nor enter into a more minute detail for your conduct, observing at the same time, that the situation of the Enemy, calls loudly for the exertions of all, and that I cannot but recommend the strictest care, attention and dispatch in executing the objects of your Command.

You will speak to the Quarter Masters and Commissaries of Provisions and Forage and agree with them upon a mode by which you may be supplied with such necessaries, as you may have occasion for, in the line of their respective Departments.

There is one thing more, which I would wish to mention, Viza. If there should be any Mills in the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, and which may be liable to fall into their hands, the Runners should be removed and secured, this can be of no injury, or but a temporary one to the proprietors, while it will effectually prevent the Enemy from using the Mills. Grain too, should be carried out of their way, as far as circumstances will admit.[22]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Wilmington, September 1, 1777.

Sir: At half after Twelve O'Clock, I was honored with Yours of this Morning, with Its several Inclosures. I shall make inquiry, respecting the Workmen in the Militia and will order all to be detached, that can be spared.

The Intelligence from the Northward is very interesting, and I hope will be succeeded by other fortunate Events. I am sorry General Arnold did not arrive sooner; If he had, it is probable the Enemy would have suffered considerably in their retreat,[23] I flatter myself, that we shall have nothing more to apprehend in that Quarter this Campaign, and that the disgrace and disappointment they have met with, will produce a favourable change in the dispositions of the Indians. I am etc.

P. S. You will be pleased to send the letter for Colo. Hughes by the Eastern post tomorrow.[24]

[22] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

[23] On the approach of Arnold's force the British and Indians besieging Fort Stanwix (Fort Schuyler), N. Y., fled.

[24] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Wilmington, September 1, 1777.

Sir: The latest and most material intelligence I have obtained respecting the Enemy, you will find in the inclosed papers, which I do myself the Honor of transmitting to you.

How far the Enemy have it in view to extend themselves in a Line from Bay to Bay, I cannot determine; But the Idea has taken place with many, and it is said to be founded on their hints to some persons, who from accident in some instances and perhaps choice in others have had a more familiar intercourse with them. I cannot suppose they have any such design, or if they have, that it can be more than temporary, for procuring Supplies of Provisions.

Genl. Howe's declaration[25] is agreeable to his constant usage, and is what we might reasonably expect. The only difference is, the present Exhibition is stiled a Declaration. It is another effort to, seduce the people to give up their rights and to encourage our soldiery to desert. The facts contained in the Deposition of Francis Alexander,[26] which you have also inclosed, seem to be opposed to that regularity and good discipline, which are promised by the Declaration.

Yesterday there was some skirmishing between One of our advanced parties and One of the Enemy's, in which they were obliged to retreat, with the loss of an Officer and three Men killed, according to report. We had one private wounded.

---

[25] Howe's declaration was issued August 27 at the Head of Elk. He announced that the strictest orders had been given and that the severest punishment would be inflicted on any soldier who should plunder property or molest the inhabitants. Security and protection was extended to all who should remain peaceably at their usual places of abode; he promised pardon to those who had taken an active part in the rebellion, provided they should voluntarily return to their allegiance and surrender themselves to any detachment of the King's forces within a specified time.

[26] Francis Alexander's deposition swore to witnessing an act of British rapine. It is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.*

I have received no particular Accounts respecting the Maryland Eastern Shore Militia. From the best information I have, a Great many are well disposed to turn out, but are prevented giving their aid, thro' the want of Arms. Apprehending that the Militia there would stand in need of an Officer to arrange them, I wrote to Genl. Cadwalader requesting his good offices, which, I am told have, been exerted. Colo Gist is now gone down and I expect will move on as soon as possible, with such as are armed, towards the Enemy. Genl Smallwood is gone to take the Command of those on the Western Shore, of which, I hear, many are collecting, but I have no authentic advices on the Subject. I have the Honor etc.

P S Will it not be advisable to order Colo. Richardson's Regiment, from their present Station to march and Join the Eastern Shore Militia?[27]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 1, 1777.

Sir: Since writing to you a few Minutes ago, I have been informed that there is a considerable Number of Cattle and a variety of Stores (the property of Individuals) at and in the neighbourhood of Nottingham. As the distance from this place to the Head of Elk, is not so great, as to discourage the Enemy from attempting to make themselves Masters of such valuable Articles, it will be proper that you should contrive means for driving the Cattle and removing the effects to some place of greater Security, while you can avail yourself of the Detachment from Greene's and Steven's Division.

As the Service of the Horse is particularly wanted in the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, it will be unnecessary for you

[27] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

to trouble yourself with writing so frequently; if you will be so good only as to keep Minutes of common occurrences and let them find a place with the Accounts of more important matters, which you may have occasion to transmit from time to time, you will not deprive yourself of so many useful hands and will equally oblige. Sir, etc.[28]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Wilmington, September 1, 1777.

Sir: I received to day, the favour of your two Letters of the 27th. and 28th. Ulto., with a Copy of Genl. Arnold's. The raising of the Seige of Fort Schuyler, is fortunate indeed, and I trust will free us from any further Apprehensions of an Invasion in that Quarter this Campaign, if it does not produce a friendly and favourable change in the dispositions of the Indians towards us. It is to be wished Genl. Arnold had arrived sooner; in such case, it is probable, the Enemy would have suffered much more severely in their retreat. As matters were, I should suppose, their loss of provisions and baggage and the distance they have to go, will reduce them to such a condition, that they will be able to give but little assistance any where this Year.

I have written to Colo. Hughes, the Deputy Qr. Mr. General at Peeks Kill, immediately to forward half the Salt provisions in the Magazine in Ulster to your Army. I do not know how much there is, but I have directed him to send from thence a further Quantity, if you should order it. It is to be regreted that our Supplies of so Esential an Article, are extremely scanty, and by no means equal to the necessary demands. I should be happy, if they were larger, as a more frequent use of Salt food, I am well convinced, would contribute greatly to the Health of our people.

[28] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

Since Colo. Hamilton's Letter of the 29th. Ulto. nothing remarkable has occurred. The Enemy's Van remains where it then was, and I believe the Main Body about Elk. There has been some skirmishing between our Scouting parties, but with little loss. We have taken about 70 or 80 British prisoners and there have been several Deserters from the Sea and Land Service together. I am &ca.[29]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 1, 1777.

Sir: Previous to the arrival of your Letter of this morning, I had received intelligence of the return of that party of the Enemy which was sent to Warwick. I cannot but regret, that a proper number of Men had not been detached immediately after them, as it appears that if this measure had been seasonably taken the plunderers would have been cut off. As to any future operations against them, I must leave the planning of them intirely to your discretion, all that I have to observe and recommend to you on this head, is, that the Troops should not be harrassed by being indiscriminately employed on every slight occasion, but that their exertions should be reserved for objects worthy of attention and where there is a well grounded hope of Success; without these restrictions your Men will suffer much from the Fatigue of their Excursions without producing any suitable good end.

Colo. Armand has complained to me of some Insults, offered him by a Lieutenant Colonel of Horse, whose name he does not mention, it will be easy for him to name the Gentleman to you, and you will order a Court of Inquiry upon the matter. I am etc.

[29] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, which is in the writing of Tench Tilghman, is in the New York Historical Society and varies in capitalization from the above draft.

P. S. I have ordered Six hundred Men from Genl. Greene's and Genl. Steven's Divisions to assist in removing Stores which are on the left Flank of the Enemy, you will second and aid them as much as lies in your power, and if there are any Commissaries or Quarter Masters in the way, urge them to use all possible diligence in this business.[30]

To COLONEL HUGH HUGHES

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 1, 1777.

Sir: I have just received a letter from Genl. Gates informing me, that he is in great want of Salt provisions for the Northern Army.

You will therefore, on receipt of this, forward to him one half of what is now lodged in the Magazine at Ulster County; and if he should not find this supply sufficient, but should call for more, you are to comply with his demands out of the remainder. No time should be lost in executing this order. I am etc.[31]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ANTHONY W. WHITE

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 1, 1777.

Sir: A Letter just received from Brigadier General Maxwell, informs me of the desertion of one of your light Horse. This disagreeable circumstance will naturally put you upon your Guard, but I desire that you will farther make very particular Scrutiny into the Characters of your Men and if you shall find any more Suspicious ones among them, that you will immediately dismount them and order them to Head Quarters, the loss of a Worthless Soldier will occasion less regret when it is not accompanied with that of a Horse and Accoutrements. I am etc.[32]

[30] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[31] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[32] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

To COLONEL PATTERSON BELL

Head Quarters, September 1, 1777.

Colonel Patterson Bell of the Eighth Battalion of Chester County Militia, having informed me, that he can bring into the Field Two Hundred Volunteers to reinforce the Army under my command, I do hereby agree with him, that the said Corps or such Number of Men, as he brings shall be furnished with provisions and Ammunition during their continuance in Service, in the same manner that the Troops are which compose the Continental Army; he the said Colo. Bell promising to join his Corps to the Detachment commanded by Brigadier Genl. Maxwell, and to observe his orders and those of his the said Bell's Superior Officers while in Service.[33]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Wilmington, September 1, 1777.

Parole Stanwix. Countersigns Arnold, Gansevoort.

Mr. Austin Sandridge was on the 15th. instant appointed Quarter Master to the 6th. Virginia regt. and is to be regarded as such.

The guards after to day are to be releived in the morning at 9 o'clock.

The Commander in Chief has the pleasure to inform the army that on the approach of Genl. Arnold with his detachment, the enemy raised the siege of Fort Stanwix and fled with such precipitation, that they left their tents standing, with their ammunition, baggage, stores, four Royals[34] &c &c &c have fallen into our hands, and that a party sent out by Col. Gansevoort[35]

[33] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[34] Small mortars.

[35] Col. Peter Gansevoort, of the Third New York Regiment. He commanded at Fort Stanwix (Fort Schuyler), N. Y., and Congress thanked him and his men by resolution of October 4 for his defense of the fort and appointed him colonel-commandant of it; he was brigadier general of New York Militia, after he retired in 1781, to the close of the war.

who commanded at the fort, brought in a number of prisoners and deserters.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Wilmington, September 1, 1777.

Sir: I have been duly honored with your several favors of the 15th 28th and 29th Ulto. and observe their contents.[36]

From the papers you have sent, there can remain no doubt, that Mr. Troup's[37] true errand, whatever may be his ostensible one, was to recruit men for the British Army; and, after being so clearly detected, should he escape punishment, it cannot fail to have the disagreeable influence you mention, on the minds of the people, and to be an encouragement to other adventurers. As a similar instance however, has not before come under my direction, I have ordered a Special Court Martial, composed of Men of judgment and moderation to set upon the occasion, and I have every reason to expect their decision will be dispassionate and well founded. It is doubted whether the Military jurisdiction comprehends a case of this kind; this will be well considered, and if the Court can with propriety go into the Trial and their sentence should be such, as it is naturally to be expected it will be; I do not think, from my present view of the matter, that it will be in my power to mitigate or remit his punishment, tho' I shall sensibly feel for his friends, who cannot but be deeply affected by his fate.

Your reason for not entering upon the business of dividing the State into districts, till the ensuing meeting of the Assembly,

[36] At this point the draft of this letter has the following sentences stricken out: "The daring practice of sending their recruiting officers among us, has been for some time past so familiar with the enemy, and has been attended with so much success, that it demands vigorous measures to put a stop to it; and how much soever we may be disposed to mercy, the public good will hardly suffer us to indulge this disposition when offenders of so dangerous a kind come under our notice."

[37] Troup was a lieutenant in the third battalion of the New Jersey Loyal Volunteers. He was captured while at dinner. His brother Robert was an aide to Gates and, later, secretary to the Continental Board of Treasury.

is intirely satisfactory. I have no doubt, you are sufficiently impressed with the importance of carrying the Measure into speedy execution, and will use all your influence to have it done.

I am sorry you have no better prospect as to the number of Militia, you expect to collect; but considering all the circumstances you mention, it is not to be wondered at, that a people harrassed and exhausted by having their Country so long the seat of War, should be unwilling to quit their homes; especially when they have an Enemy still at their doors.

I am fully convinced of the pernicious consequences of that abuse of passports you speak of; the liberty that has been taken in granting them, was altogether unauthorised by me, and contrary to my wish.[38] I am glad to find you are determined to put a stop to the Practice, with respect to your Militia Officers, who alone will now have it in their power to continue it, as the Continental Troops are all called away; and Doctor Barnet,[39] who has been so peculiarly Culpable, and who had not a shadow of right to grant a single passport, will also be immediately removed.

You will 'ere this have heard of the Enemy's advancing from the Place of their first landing, and occupying with their Van,

[38] "I have sufficient Evidence to believe that a constant Communication and commercial Intercourse has been held for a considerable time past with the Enemy by many of the Inhabitants of the County of Essex. That these Communications have been principally supported by means of Flaggs and Passports obtained from divers officers of the Army under your Excellency's Command, who for some time past have been stationed at Elizabeth Town, Newark, and other places near the Enemy's Lines.

"Under colour of these Flaggs or Permits, which from their Frequency must be supposed (to use the softest Term) to have been imprudently granted, great mischiefs have arisen to these parts of the Country. Mischiefs, I imagine, greatly superior to the Advantages that may be pretended to be derived from any Intelligence that can be gained thereby. Persons of dubious political Characters, as I am informed, have been sent over; Provisions for the aid and comfort of the British Troops, furnished: A pernicious and unlawful Traffic carried on; The little Specie left among us collected with the greatest Avidity to maintain this execrable Trade; and the continental Currency by that means depreciated: opportunities afforded the Enemy of circulating their counterfeit Bills; and the disaffected of conveying to them Intelligence of every movement and designed operation of our Troops; The Confidence of the People in the Integrity of our officers diminished, and a universal Murmuring excited among the Friends of the common Cause."—*Governor Livingston to Washington,* Aug. 15, 1777.

[39] Doctor Barnet probably was Capt. William Barnet, of the Second Continental Dragoons. Livingston described him as "much addicted to strong drink, and having very little discretion when sober." He resigned in October, 1777.

a piece of High Ground, called Grey's Hill. They still remain in this position, and it is difficult to say, how soon they will alter it. All accounts agree, that they are very much distressed for want of Horses, numbers of which, it is said, died on the passage and the rest are in exceeding bad order; this will probably occasion some delay and give time for the Militia, who seem to be collecting pretty fast, to join us. We have light parties constantly hovering about them, who frequently make a few prisoners, the whole number already made, is about 70, and will be no inconsiderable check upon them.

They have as yet experienced little countenance from the inhabitants; and as we have accounts of their perpetrating outrages, similar to those they have committed elsewhere; I am in hopes, their Conduct here, as in other places, will not be of a complexion, to conciliate many new partizans to their cause. I have the honor etc.

P. S. since writing the above, the judge Advocate of the Court Martial above mentioned has Called upon me and reported that the court had proceeded upon the Trial of the Prisoner, but on Account of one point of his defence, which requires time to be investigated, had postponed their final decision, and adjourned to a future day the 16th Inst. Mr. Troup pretends that he came out with design to avail himself of the offer of Grace held out in your proclamation; but finding the people much exasperated against him and hearing that a Man had been hanged, who had applied for the benefit of that proclamation, he was deterred from applying to you in person, 'till he had made his peace through the Mediation of a third person and Secured his terms; That for this purpose he had communicated his intention to one Philip Scout and his Mother, residing near Charlottenburgh; who were to intercede with a Certain Mr. Donoworth that lives with Mr. Erskine at Ringwood, in order to engage him to

Solicit you in his, Mr. Troups behalf. he lays great Stress upon this; though it is probably a mere pretence; but as the Court have indulged him with time to have his Witnesses produced, I shall be much obliged to you to notify the persons above mentioned that their immediate attendance at Head Quarters is required, and to have them sent on without delay. You will also be pleased to inform yourself of their Characters, particularly in a political light.[40]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOSEPH SPENCER

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 2, 1777.

Sir: I have duly received your favor of the 15th. of last Month.

The frequent captures you make with your little parties, have a very good effect and ought to be encouraged.

With respect to the Exchanges you propose, it is not in my power to interfere in the matter. Elias Boudinot Esqr. has been appointed Commissary General of Prisoners, and every thing relating to them, must pass through his hands. He is not at present at Camp, or I should communicate your letter to him; for the future you will make all applications of a similar nature to him. But you may inform the Gentlemen concerned, that there is a general rule estalished for the exchange of all prisoners, in their turn according to the time of their Captivity, and that this rule cannot be departed from in favour of any person whatsoever, but every one will be liberated, in course, when it falls to his turn, and not sooner. It is natural for every Man to wish his friends and connections first released, and I have accordingly had frequent solicitations to forego the rule I have mentioned, but I have never given my authority to the least deviation from it, in any instance. I am etc.

[40] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 2, 1777.

Sir: I have your two favours of this date. In consequence of the remonstrance from the Inhabitants near Elk, I have commanded Armand's Corps to repair immediately to this place. If any of the people who have been injured can point out the particular Persons, either Officers or Soldiers, they shall be made Examples of. As several accounts seem to agree, that the Enemy mean to come out to morrow Morning, I beg you will be prepared to give them as much trouble as you possibly can. You should keep small parties upon every Road that you may be sure of the one they take, and always be careful to keep rather upon their left Flank, because they cannot in that case cut you off from our Main Body. We have certain accounts that the Enemy raised the seige of Fort Schuyler, Upon the approach of Genl. Arnold, they abandoned their Camp, a considerable quantity of baggage and four Royal Howitz. Genl. Arnold and Colo. Gansevoort had detached light parties after them, in hopes of overtaking their Rear and recovering the rest of the Cannon and Baggage. I gave the Map that I promised you to the Engineers to Copy, but they have not yet done it. I am &ca.[41]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Head Qurs., Wilmington,
½ past 8 O'Clock, September 2, 1777.

Sir: I am just favoured with yours of this Evening. I do not know where the sign of the Buck is, I therefore cannot say whether it will be proper for you to leave your present post to go and attack the party that is said to be thereabouts. If it is

[41] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

upon your left, as I suppose it is, it will be by no means proper, because while you were gone down, the Enemy might advance from Grey's Hill to Christeen and cut you off from us. Be careful to keep upon the left flank of the Enemy, for the Reasons given in my former of this day. I am etc.[42]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL THOMAS NELSON, JUNIOR

Wilmington, September 2, 1777.

Dear Sir: By yesterday morning's post, I received your favour of the 22d. Ulto. It gave me great pleasure to hear of your appointment, and I wish you to accept my Congratulations upon the occasion.[43] The want of Military experience you mention, is no obstacle to your serving your Country in the Capacity in which you have undertaken. In our infant state of War, it cannot be expected, we should be perfect in the business of it; But I doubt not, that your zeal and assiduity will amply supply any deficiency, your diffidence of yourself leads you to suppose, you labour under in that respect. It is without doubt a disagreeable task to Command Militia, but we must make the best of circumstances, and use the means we have. That they are ill armed too, is a matter of great concern, every attention should be paid to putting them upon as respectable a footing as possible. It is of the first importance.

I observe you are directed by the Governor, to pay particular attention to the fortifications in the State and that in consequence of that you propose to garrison Portsmouth with 1200 Men and to divide the remainder of what troops you may have among the posts at York, Hampton and Williamsburgh. The

[42] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[43] Nelson had been appointed brigadier general by Virginia, to command the State militia; he was elected governor of the State in 1781.

reasons you assign for having a garrison at Portsmouth are good; but I can by no means think it would be prudent to have any considerable Stationary force at Hampton and York. These by being upon a narrow neck of land, would be in danger of being cut off. The Enemy might very easily throw up a few Ships into York and James's river, as far as Queens Creek; and land a body of men there, who by throwing up a few Redoubts, would intercept their retreat and oblige them to surrender at discretion.

As to the idea of preventing Ships from passing up and down Rivers, our own experience has proved it wrong. It is scarcely possible, and I am satisfied, it is not to be affected by Forts and Batteries, unless the Water is narrow, and there are an immense number of Heavy Cannon, near which they are obliged to run from the course of the Channel.

I should think it proper to keep light parties down at those places, merely to prevent the insults of small parties of marines or the like; who could expeditiously withdraw themselves, on any appearances that should make it necessary; but I would not recommend any thing more.

You will have heard of the Enemy's landing near the head of Elk, and of their moving since from their first position and extending their Van to Grey's Hill, a piece of high ground, about two Miles on this side Elk Town. They still continue in this posture, preparing I suppose for some more capital operation. The want of Horses, sufficient to transport their baggage, Artillery and Stores, I imagine, will retard them some time, as every information agrees, they have lost several, and that many of those they now have are much reduced. We have light parties constantly hanging upon them, to harrass them and prevent their incursions into the Country, between whom and theirs, there have been some skirmishes, but with little loss to either

side. We have made 70 or 80 prisoners since they landed and have had several Deserters.

In addition to what I have written, I congratulate you on our further success at the Northward, on the 22d. Ulto.; that part of Genl. Burgoyne's Army which had invested Fort Schuyler, raised the seige on the approach of Genl. Arnold, who was pushing hard to relieve the Garrison. They went off with great precipitation, leaving their Tents, provisions and Ammunition. A party detached from the Fort made several prisoners and took a good deal of baggage and four Royals. This is an interesting event and in all probability will prevent another invasion in that Quarter this Campaign. They had suffered before in an action with Brigadier Herkimer[44] at the head of part of the Militia of Tryon County, who behaved with the greatest Spirit and bravery. I am etc.[45]

To COLONEL DAVID MASON

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 2, 1777.

Sir: I am glad to find, from yours of the 13th. Ulto. that the Six new Virginia Battalions are likely to be completed by means of drafts and inlistments. All the recruits who have not had the small pox, should be inoculated before they join the Army, for altho' there are few of the Continental Troops, but have had that disorder, yet as we constantly have Militia with the Army, we cannot safely inoculate here for fear of communicating it to them. I cannot consent to admit the practice of suffering any person to substitute himself in the room of a deserter; As desertion is the most pernicious Vice that can possibly prevail in an Army, the perpetrators of it should ever be

[44] Brig. Gen. Nicholas Herkimer, of the New York Militia. He had been mortally wounded at Oriskany in his attempt to relieve Fort Stanwix (Fort Schuyler), N. Y., and died 10 days after the battle.

[45] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison and Alexander Hamilton.

punished with severity, for the sake of example; but still if you think that the offer of a pardon would induce many to return to their duty in a limited time, I have no objection to your trying the Experiment.

The Recruits must make a shift without Kettles and Blankets till they join the Army; while they are in the Hospital or in Quarters, they can get Pots and other Vessels, and as they will not be exposed to the Weather, Blankets will not be so essential. But if you can by any means procure any in the Country, it will be well to do so. I beg that you will, while you remain in Virginia, exert yourself in forwarding on those Recruits to their Regiments who have had the small pox, and in having those carried expeditiously thro' inoculation, who have not. I am etc.[46]

To COLONEL JAMES HENDRICKS

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 2, 1777.

Sir: Your Letter of the 31st. Ulto. to Mr. Harrison has been laid before me. My motive for wishing you to continue in the Sixth Regiment was founded on a report that you could readily engage all or most of the privates in it, to serve during the War. This I considered as a happy circumstance; But as it may make little difference whether you remain in that, or have the first, and as Colo. Elliot has been appointed in Orders to the former, you may repair, as soon as you please to the latter and take the Command of it, as Colonel. I am etc.[47]

To COLONEL CHARLES ARMAND TUFFIN[48]

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 2, 1777.

Sir: I have a complaint lodged against your Corps by a number of the reputable Inhabitants in the Neighbourhood of Elk.

[46] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[47] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.
[48] Charles Armand-Tuffin, Marquis de la Rouerie.

As I find that your men cannot be restrained from committing Violences while in the Country, I desire you will immediately march them to this Town. I am &ca.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Wilmington, September 2, 1777.

Parole Haverhill. Countersigns Andover, Bradford.

The Honorable the Congress having desired the Commander in Chief to detach from the militia, as soon as possible such a number of workmen, as he should think necessary, to repair with dispatch, the arms now in the city of Philadelphia, The Brigadiers of the militia are earnestly desired to make immediate enquiry, in their several brigades, for such workmen, and without a moments delay, detach, under the care of proper officers, all who are not wanted to repair the arms of their brigades, to Philadelphia, there to receive directions from the board of war.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentences of a General Court Martial held the 30th and 31st. of August last, whereof Col. Johnston[49] was president, and orders them to be put in execution immediately.

Serjt. Dickinson,[50] of Capt. Gibbs Jones's[51] company of artillery, charged with "Desertion," found guilty, and sentenced to be reduced to a matross.

John Adair, a Corporal in the same Company, charged with "Desertion," found guilty, and sentenced to be reduced to a matross.

John Donnelly of the 5th. Pennsylv. regt. charged with "Insulting, and charging his Bayonet on Capt. Ashmead,"[52]

[49] Of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment. He retired in January, 1781.

[50] Sergt. John Dickinson. The *Pennsylvania Archives* print this name as Dickson.

[51] Of Bernard Romans Pennsylvania independent artillery.

[52] Capt. Jacob Ashmead, of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment. He resigned in May, 1780.

pleaded guilty; sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back.

James McCracken, of Col. Proctor's[53] regiment, charged with "Desertion from Trenton Camp." The court released the prisoner from confinement for want of evidence.

George Leard of Capt. Bower's[54] Company in the 6th. Pennsylvania regiment, charged with "Desertion," pleaded guilty, sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back, and to be sent on board one of the Continental frigates, to serve during the war.

Matthew Smith Esqr. is appointed Deputy Adjutant General in the Continental Army; and he is to be respected and obeyed as such.

A General Court Martial is to sit to morrow morning at nine o'clock, at Newport, at Conradt Gray's tavern, for the trial of all prisoners which shall be brought before them. Col. Lawson[55] is appointed president of this court.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Wilmington, September 3, 1777.

Parole Oxford. Countersigns Norton, Nottingham.

John Parker Esqr. is appointed paymaster to the 8th. Pennsylvania regt. in the room of John Boyd Esqr. resigned.

As the enemy's motions will be sudden, and perhaps rapid, the General positively orders the commanding officers of corps to keep their men in camp, by no means suffering them to ramble about, out of the verge of it. The discharge of two field

[53] Col. Thomas Procter, of the Fourth Continental Artillery. He resigned in April, 1781.

[54] Capt. Jacob Bower (Bauer).

[55] Col. Robert Lawson, of the Fourth Virginia Regiment. He resigned in December, 1777, and served, subsequently, as brigadier general of Virginia Militia.

pieces is to be considered by the Brigadiers and officers commanding brigades as an alarm, and as a signal for getting the men under arms; and to the waggon-masters for putting to their horses. Upon the firing the alarm guns, the general officers, after giving the necessary orders for parading their men, are to repair immediately to Head Quarters.

The division commanded by Genl. Wayne, is immediately to incamp on the left of Genl. Sullivan. Genl. Nash to encamp on the left of Genl. Wayne, and Lord Stirling's division on the left of the whole. Genl. Knox will fix on a proper place for the park of artillery in this encampment. The Quarter Master General and Engineers will mark out the whole without loss of time. All the waggons that are not absolutely necessary are to be kept on the east side of the Brandewine.

A subaltern and 25 men are to mount guard daily at the Fort at Christiana. Genl. Knox will see what artillery men are necessary to place there and give orders accordingly.

It is expected that the officers of every Corps will immediately inspect the men's arms and ammunition, to see that every thing is in order. If any of the Continental troops are without arms, the commanding officer of the Corps to which they belong, is to apply to the Adjutant General, for orders on the Commissary of military stores, for such as are wanted.

A detachment of men properly officered are to parade at sun sett this afternoon at with at least twenty four rounds of ammunition two days' provision ready dressed and their blankets.

The officers appointed to overlook the fatigue parties are earnestly exhorted to keep the men to their duty and see that the work goes on briskly.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentences of a General Court Martial, held August 30th 31st and Sept. 2nd whereof Col. Johnston was president.

Peter Linch a Matross in Capt. Gibbs Jones's company of artillery, charged with "Desertion"; found guilty and sentenced to have the hair on the front part of his head shaved off without soap, and a quantity of tar and feathers fixed on the place as a substitute for hair, then to run the Gauntlope in the company to which he belongs, provided nevertheless that the stripes which he shall receive while running the gauntlope, shall not exceed one hundred; and then to be sent on board one of the Continental frigates to serve during the war.

Daniel Fennel of Col. Proctor's regt., charged with "Deserting from the said regiment," found guilty, and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back, and to forfeit one month's pay for the use of the sick.

Daniel Hailey of the 11th. Virginia Regt. charged with "Abetting the cause of a deserter from Col Proctor's regiment of artillery, and with collaring Col. Proctor"; found guilty, and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back.

James Martin of the 2nd. Pennsylv. regt. charged with "Being drunk and asleep on his post while sentinel over prisoners," found guilty, and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back; and to have the hair from the front part of his head shaved off without soap, and tar and feathers substituted in the room of the hair.

Henry Hargood charged with "Desertion from the German regiment"; found guilty, and sentenced to suffer death: But for the reasons mentioned by the court, they recommend him to the Commander in Chief's clemency and mercy. The Commander in Chief pardons the offender.

Godfrid Oxford of the 14th. Virginia regt. charged with "Desertion, getting drunk and loosing his arms"; found not guilty of desertion; but guilty of getting drunk and losing his

arms; and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back, and to pay for his arms lost.

AFTER ORDERS

The several divisions of the army are to remain in their encampments, as they were this morning, but to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning; and neither officer nor soldier is to be out of hearing of the drum of his brigade, And the more certainly to get and keep the men in their quarters, the rolls are to be regularly called, and all absent men looked up and brought to their regiments.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 3, 1777.

Sir: Yours of three O'Clock this morning I have received. I do not think you have much to fear from the party that has been sent over to Bohemia, who lie greatly to the Southward of you and too remote from where you now are, easily to injure you. It is imagined the design of their going there is to extend across from Bohemia River to Apoquiminy, by which means, they will prevent the Eastern Shore people from coming to our assistance, and will have the command of an extensive country to collect supplies in. But this is conjecture; and it is not impossible, they may attempt to throw a party in your Rear by way of Christiana bridge; though to do it, they must make a forced march of thirteen or fourteen Miles. As this however, is practicable enough, I would not wish to discourage the idea of your retiring to take possession of that bridge; where your left will be secured by Christiana Creek, and you will have nothing to fear except in front. My only objection to this is,

that being so much farther off [from] the Enemy, you will have it the less in your power to watch and harrass them.

I wish you very much to have the situation of the Enemy critically reconnoitred, to know as exactly as possible how and where they lie, in what places they are approachable; where their several guards are stationed, and the strength of them; and every thing necessary to be known to enable us to judge, with precision, whether any advantage may be taken of their present divided State. No pains should be omitted to gain as much certainty, as can be had, in all these particulars. I am etc.

P. S. By a Gentleman just arrived at Head Quarters, I learn the Enemy from Bohemia have advanced some distance on the New Castle road, and were last night about 10 Miles from Christiana Bridge. This makes your retreat to that place advisable and necessary.[56]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Wilmington, 8 O'Clock P. M., September 3, 1777.

Sir: I this minute returned to Head Quarters, where I found your favor of this date with the Resolves respecting Genl. Sullivan and Colo Richardson's Battalion.

I had conversed with General Sullivan upon the Subject and observed to him, that it was necessary an inquiry should be had relative to the Affair of Staten Island, as his conduct was censured and much dissatisfaction prevailed. He was sensible of the propriety of the measure and expressed a desire that it should take place, provided he could have the benefit of Genl Smallwood's Testimony, who was on the expedition. [Unfortunately] That Gentleman happens, at this time, to be in Maryland which must necessarily delay the inquiry, unless

[56] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

some mode can be agreed upon for obtaining his Sentiments upon the matter.[57]

This morning the Enemy came out with considerable force and three pieces of Artillery, against our Light advanced Corps, and after some pretty smart skirmishing obliged them to retreat, being far inferior to them in number and without Cannon. The loss on either side is not yet ascertain'd. Ours, tho' not exactly known is not very considerable; Their's, we have reason to believe, was much greater, as some of our parties composed of expert Marksmen, had opportunities of giving them several close, well directed Fires, more particularly in one instance, when a body of Riflemen formed a kind of Ambuscade. They advanced about two Miles this side of Iron Hill, and then withdrew to that place, leaving a Picket at Couch's Mill about a Mile in front. Our parties now lie at White Clay Creek, except the advanced Pickets, which are at Christiana Bridge.

On Monday a large Detachment of the Enemy landed at Cecil Court House and this Morning I had advice of their having advanced on the New Castle Road, as far as Carson's Tavern. Parties of Horse were sent out to reconnoitre them, which went Three Miles beyond the Red Lion, but could neither see nor hear of them, Whence I conjecture, they filed off by a Road to their left and fell in with their Main body. The design of the Movement this Morning, seems to have been to disperse our Light Troops, which had been troublesome to them and to gain possession of Iron Hill, to establish a post most probably for covering their Retreat in case of accidents. I have the honor etc.[58]

[57] Sullivan's expedition against Staten Island had miscarried, and rumors had circulated to his disadvantage. Congress directed Washington to appoint a court of inquiry, which acquitted Sullivan with honor. His letter to Washington, dated Aug. 24, 1777, giving an account of the expedition, is in the *Washington Papers*.

[58] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The word in brackets is in the draft and not in the letter sent.

To THE COMMITTEE OF INTELLIGENCE IN CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 3, 1777.

Gentlemen: I have the honor of yours of yesterday, with a number of hand Bills[59] giving an Account of our Successes to the Northward. They shall be distributed among the Soldiery, and I doubt not but they will answer the good end which is intended by them. Every piece of good News, circulated in this manner thro' the Camp, will certainly inspirit the Troops. I refer you to my Letter to Congress for the Transactions of this day and have the honor etc.

P. S. the raising the Seige of Fort Schuyler was before published in Genl Orders, but having the matter in full is a further gratification.[60]

To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON

September 3, 1777.

Sir: The late Resolution of Congress, Sending Genl Smallwood and Colo Gist from this Army, to arrange and Command the Militia of Maryland, now called to the Field and the frequent applications I had before the arrival of those Gentlemen at this place, to Send officers to the Eastern Shore, to take the direction of the Militia Assembling there; give me reason to beleive that the regulations in this line are not so good, as either you or I wish them to be, and that there is a Want of Officers in that part of the State, or at least of a Head, to conduct Matters properly and in the best manner, that circumstances will admit. Under this persuasion; If you have not already appointed a General Officer or have no particular Gentleman in view for

[59] The handbills were those issued by Congress (August 22), which reproduced General Schuyler's letter of August 18 announcing the victory at Bennington, Vt. In it Schuyler expressed the hope that Congress would soon hear that Arnold had succeeded in relieving Fort Stanwix (Fort Schuyler), N. Y.

[60] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

the purpose; I would beg leave to mention John Cadwallader Esqr. for your consideration. This Gentleman, I know to be a judicious, valuable officer, and I have often regretted that he did not hold a high Command in the Army of the States. If you should entertain the same opinion of him and there is no objection to appointing him, I am satisfied he would render essential Services at the Head of the Eastern Shore Militia, if he will accept of the Command, which I am inclined to think would be the case. Before Colo. Gist went on this Business on Monday, on Account of the applications I have mentioned, and not knowing who were the Militia Officers on the Eastern Shore, I wrote to Mr. Cadwalader, and requested his good Offices and exertions, in Assembling and arranging the Militia, which I find have been employed with great Assiduity; and if Arms could have been procured, that he would have Collected a respectable body of them. My interfering in this matter was the result of necessity. I though the Situation of our affairs required it, and I trust I shall have your excuse upon the occasion. I would also observe, If Mr. Cadwalader is appointed, Colo Gist's Services there may be dispensed with, and he may join his Regiment again.

I sincerely congratulate you on our late Success at the Northward, in raising the Seige of Fort Schuyler and obliging the Enemy to go off with great precipitation; leaving their Tents, Provisions and Amunition, and with the loss of several Prisoners and Deserters and 4 Royals. I have the honor etc.[61]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 4, 1777.

Sir: Colonel Broadhead of the 8th. Pennsylvania Regiment has represented to me, that several of his Officers sent to

[61] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, which is in the Maryland Historical Society, and is also in Harrison's writing, varies from the draft in capitalization and other minor particulars.

Westmoreland with large sums of Public Money, for the purposes of recruiting men for his Corps and recovering others who had deserted from it, were detained by your influence and countenance from their Regiment. I know not what foundation he may have for this assertion, but if the fact be true, it is a piece of conduct of a very unwarrantable and injurious nature, and I must desire, that on receipt of this, you will not only order those Officers to proceed immediately with their Men to join their Corps, but will take pains, to see that they punctually comply with that order.

It is probable before this reaches you, you will have heard of Fort Stanwix being relieved on the approach of Genl. Arnold. The Enemy retreated precipitately, leaving all their baggage, tents and four Royals behind them, which fell into our hands. A number of Prisoners were also taken, and many deserters came over to us. I am etc.

P. S. The Officers particularly mentioned are, Captn. Samuel Miller, Lieutt. Richard Richardson, Lieutt. John Hughes.[62]

To COLONEL WILLIAM RICHARDSON

Wilmington, September 4, 1777.

Sir: General Howe having arrived with his Army at the Head of Chesapeak Bay, with a design to push his Arms in this Quarter and particularly against Philadelphia, It is necessary to collect our whole force to oppose him. You will therefore, immediately on receipt of this, march such Companies of your Regiment, as are on the Eastern Shore, with all convenient expedition to the head of Sassafras, or such other place towards the Head of Elk or elsewhere, at which the Eastern Shore Militia may be collected, and join and cooperate with them, in such measures as

[62] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton; the P. S. is in that of Caleb Gibbs.

may be necessary for annoying and harrassing the Enemy. And you will receive and obey such Orders, as the Commanding Officer of them, if your superior, shall judge proper to give from time to time.

I need not upon this occasion urge dispatch, the necessity it is evident, and known to all. I am etc.[63]

To DOCTOR BENJAMIN RUSH

Wilmington, September 4, 1777.

Sir: I have been duly favoured with yours of the 30th. Ulto. relative to Captn. McPherson.[64]

Agreeable to your request I have directed Mr. Boudinot Commissary General of Prisoners, to settle the terms of the Indulgence desired, with Capt. McPherson, and after taking his parole for the performance of them, to give him a pass to go into New York.

This I expect will be done, without loss of time. I am etc.[65]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Wilmington, September 4, 1777.

Parole Culloden. Countersigns Cumberland, Colchester.

As a full supply of hard bread cannot at present be obtained, all that now is in, or shall come to, the hands of the regimental quarter masters, is to remain there, and not be distributed, but upon the most pressing exigency, and when the troops are about to march, and then not without orders from their Brigadier. In the mean time the army is to be furnished with soft bread, or flour, which the Commissaries are enjoined to supply

[63] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[64] Capt. John McPherson, of the Seventeenth Foot, British Army.
[65] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

with more punctuality than they have done. The Commander in Chief can no longer excuse the neglects in that department.

Much injury having been done to the soldiers, and some lives lost, by their being taken by their officers from the hospital too soon, and without the concurrence of the superintending physician; that practice is absolutely forbidden; and henceforward not a man is to be taken from the hospital, 'till regularly discharged by the directing physician, in writing under his hand.

Notwithstanding all the cautions, the earnest requests, and the positive orders of the Commander in Chief, to prevent *our own army* from plundering *our own friends* and *fellow citizens,* yet to his astonishment and grief, fresh complaints are made to him, that so wicked, infamous and cruel a practice is still continued, and that too in circumstances most distressing; where the wretched inhabitants, dreading the enemy's vengeance for their adherence to our cause, have left all, and fled to us for refuge! We complain of the cruelty and barbarity of our enemies; but does it equal ours? They sometimes spare the property of their *friends:* But some amongst us, beyond expression barbarous, rob even *them!* Why did we assemble in arms? Was it not, in one capital point, to protect the property of our countrymen? And shall we to our eternal reproach, be the first to pillage and destroy? Will no motives of humanity, of zeal, interest and of honor, restrain the violence of the soldiers, or induce officers to keep so strict a watch over the ill-disposed, as effectually to prevent the execution of their evil designs, and the gratification of their savage inclinations? Or, if these powerful motives are too weak, will they pay no regard to their own safety? How many noble designs have miscarried, how many victories been lost, how many armies ruined, by an indulgence of soldiers in plundering? If officers in the least connive at such practices, the licentiousness of some soldiers will soon be without bounds: In the most critical moments, instead of

attending to their duty, they will be scattered abroad, indiscriminately plundering *friends* and *foes;* and if no worse consequences ensue, many of them must infallibly fall a prey to the enemy. For these reasons, the Commander in Chief requires, that these orders be distinctly read to all the troops; and that officers of every rank, take particular pains, to convince the men, of the baseness, and fatal tendency of the practices complained of; and that their own safety depends on a contrary conduct, and an exact observance of order and discipline; at the same time the Commander in Chief most solemnly assures all, that he will have no mercy on offenders against these orders; their lives shall pay the forfeit of their crimes. Pity, under such circumstances, would be the height of cruelty.

AFTER ORDERS

The tents of Genl. Sullivan's, Lord Stirling's and Wayne's divisions, and Nash's brigade, are to be struck and packed by five o'clock to morrow morning (if the weather permit) these corps, together with Genl. Potter's brigade, are to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning afterwards upon receiving orders. For which purpose, each brigade should be paraded, their arms grounded, and the men ready to take them up at the first call. The Quarter Master General will shew the ground they are to encamp upon, in the following order: Genl. Sullivan's on the right, Lord Stirling's on the left; Genl. Nash's on the left of Genl. Sullivan's; and Genl. Potter's on the right of Lord Stirling's; but as General Potter's brigade is without tents, it will be quartered in Newport. Genl. Stephen's division and Genl. Irvine's brigade, when it leaves this place, are to form a second line; Stephen's on the right. The division commanded by Genl. Wayne is to form a third line; Genl. Greene's division remains where it is.

General Knox will fix upon a proper spot for the park of artillery, in this encampment, and direct such spare ammunition as he shall think absolutely necessary, to attend the park and respective divisions; the residue to be left, together with all the baggage that can possibly be spared, on the east side of Brandywine, under a small guard from each brigade, with proper officers, the whole of these guards to be under the care of a colonel.

General Armstrong will recall the troops posted at the different fords on Brandewine, and order them to join their respective brigades.

General Irvine's brigade is to remain in Wilmington 'till further Orders; and to expedite the works there carrying on, as much as possible.

One Colonel from Genl. Nash's brigade will take the command of the baggage guard—This guard is to be composed of the most indifferent men, and supplied with the arms least fit for service. The Colonel will cause all the baggage waggons left behind, to be collected on the east side of Brandewine, in the most convenient place, and ranged (those of each brigade by themselves) in regular order.

The men ordered for guards and fatigue will attend that service, but carry with them their arms and ammunition, and all the baggage they intend to take with them to the new encampment, to which they are to march to morrow night, except the guards, who are to remain 'till relieved.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Wilmington, September 5, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

The Commissary General of prisoners informs the commanding officers of regiments and other corps, that notwithstanding the orders heretofore issued for that purpose; he has received

but one small return of prisoners, taken by the enemy, since his appointment; in consequence of which neglect, it will be impossible for him, in case of an exchange, to pay proper attention to the order of the different captures, as to time. He further informs them, that in future, the prisoners will be exchanged according to the returns hereafter made to him.

As baggage waggons are at all times a great incumbrance to an army, and would be particularly so, in a day of battle; they are in the latter case to be driven off the field, that the army may not be in the least incommoded by them. Tis besides a measure which common prudence dictates: And whenever an action is expected, the Quarter Master General will immediately wait on the Commander in Chief, to receive his directions respecting them.

From every information of the enemy's designs, and from their movements, it is manifest their aim is, if possible, to possess themselves of Philadelphia. This is their capital object. 'Tis what they last year strove to effect; but were happily disappointed: They made a second attempt at the opening of this campaign; but after vast preparations, and expence for the purpose, they abandoned their design, and totally evacuated the Jersies. They are now making their last effort; to come up the Delaware it seems, was their first intention; but, from the measures taken to annoy them in the river, they judged the enterprise, that way, too hazardous. At length they have landed on the eastern shore of Maryland, and advanced some little way into the country: But the General trusts, they will be again disappointed in their views. Should they push their design against Philadelphia, on this route, their all is at stake; they will put the contest on the event of a single battle: If they are overthrown, they are utterly undone, the war is at an end. Now then is the time for our most strenuous exertions. One bold stroke will free the land from rapine, devastations and burnings, and female

innocence from brutal lust and violence. In every other quarter the American Arms have, of late, been rapidly successful and still greater numbers have been made prisoners. The militia at the northward, have fought with a resolution, that would have done honor to old soldiers; they bravely fought and conquered, and glory attends them. Who can forbear to emulate their noble spirit? Who is there without ambition, to share with them, the applauses of their countrymen, and of all posterity, as the defenders of Liberty, and the procurers of peace and happiness to millions in the present and future generations? Two years we have maintained the war and struggled with difficulties innumerable. But the prospect has since brightened, and our affairs put on a better face. Now is the time to reap the fruits of all our toils and dangers! If we behave like men, this third Campaign will be our last. Ours is the main army; to us our Country looks for protection. The eyes of all America, and of Europe are turned upon us, as on those by whom the event of the war is to be determined. And the General assures his countrymen and fellow soldiers, that he believes the critical, the important moment is at hand, which demands their most spirited exertions in the field. There glory waits to crown the brave, and peace, freedom and happiness will be the rewards of victory. Animated by motives like these, soldiers fighting in the cause of innocence, humanity and justice, will never give way, but, with undaunted resolution, press on to conquest. And this, the General assures himself, is the part the American Forces now in arms will act; and thus acting, he will insure them success.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Wilmington, September 5, 1777.

Sir: I send you herewith two letters for Lord and General Howe, which you will immediately transmit by a flag to the latter. Let some decent Officer go with the flag.

I have heard a report of one of our Militia parties firing upon a flag that came from the Enemy; I wish you to inquire into the matter, and, if you find it true, make a proper apology for it to General Howe, and strictly forbid any Similar infringement of the rules of propriety for the future, provided these steps have not been already taken. As you have given me no information of such an incident, I suppose the report must have been without foundation, but I mention this lest it might have happened, as I should wish of all things, to avoid giving any cause of complaint in this way.

I should be glad to hear how the Enemy are situated and what they seem to be about. Send out reconnoitring parties, under good intelligent Officers to inspect the different parts of their Camp, and gain as exact an insight as possible into their circumstances, and let me know the result of their observations. Endeavour also to procure some of the Country people in the Neighbourhood, in whom you can repose confidence to go into their lines, and make what discoveries they can. As an inducement to this, they must be properly rewarded. I am etc.

P.S. You should always have small advanced parties towards the Enemy's lines, about the hour of the morning you expect them to move, as it is of essential importance to us, to have the earliest intelligence of it. Several persons have mentioned that there is a Hessian General quartered at one Fisher's, covered only by a small guard. This is well worth your attention and may afford a glorious opportunity for a partisan exploit. Any of the Country people can direct you, I suppose, where Fisher's is.[66]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Wilmington, September 5, 1777.

Dear Sir: Let me know by the bearer whether you have received such information, as to enable you to make the intended

[66] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

attempt to night (or rather in the morning) if you have, the parson will be an excellent hand to accompany you.

I am persuaded, I need not impress upon you the necessity of secrecy, the success of the enterprise totally depends upon that, and the precautions you use, to prevent the disaffected from carrying intelligence of your march after it is began, and this to be done by waylaying all the roads leading to the Enemy. I would not advise you, to communicate your scheme to any of your Officers, till just as you are ready to put it into execution. Things leak out surprisingly, and if any intimation should be given of the scheme, the tables may be turned upon you. You may rely upon it, that if you have entrusted many Officers with a knowledge of this matter, that it has, or will soon descend to the men.

In returning, you had better come in upon our right, lest any attempt should be made to intercept you on either of the other roads. Take care to provide good guides, and with proper precaution, or else the attempt to do this will betray your design. I am etc.[67]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CAESAR RODNEY

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 5, 1777.

Sir: Yours of Yesterday reached me last night. I hope, as the Enemy have moved further towards the Head of Elk, that the New Castle Militia will find an Opportunity of joining you with safety. I last night sent an Express to Colo. Richardson of the 5th. Maryland Battalion to march up from Lewis Town and join you, but as there is a possibility that the Letter may have miscarried, I inclose you a duplicate, which I beg you

[67] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

will be kind enough to forward to him. For the present you can do no more than keep scouts and patroles towards the Enemy to watch their motions, but as soon as you are joined by more force from this State, by the Militia of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and by Richardson's Battalion, I would have you move as near the Enemy as you can with safety, that you may, if they move on towards Philadelphia, get between them and their Shipping and cut off their Communication with them or at least render it difficult. You will endeavour to check any parties that the Enemy may send out to collect Horses, Cattle or Forage; and give me intelligence of any occurrences that may come to your knowledge. I am &ca.

P. S. The light Horseman who brought your letter, informs me that the Enemy's Shipping all fell down from Cecil Court House last Tuesday and were out of sight; be pleased to inform me whether this be true, and if it is, endeavour to find out how low they have fallen down. If you advance towards the Enemy always keep your Baggage well in your Rear that you may not be incumbered by it.[68]

To CHRISTOPHER LUDOWICK

Wilmington, September 5, 1777.

Sir: Mr. Stewart Commy. Genl. of Issues has shown me a letter from him to you of yesterday's date, desiring you to repair to Camp, leaving the ovens at Morristown under the direction of some other person, if you can find a proper one; and directing you also in your way to call at Pittstown and Coryells, and forward all the bread from those places by water to Camp, or near it. It is my wish, you should punctually comply with these

[68] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs; the P. S. is in that of Tench Tilghman.

instructions, and use all the dispatch you can in coming yourself and in sending on the bread, for which there is an indispensible necessity.

And when you come to Philadelphia, I would have you set as many ovens as you can procure to work in baking hard bread. I am etc.[69]

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, September 5, 1777.

Sir: I did myself the Honor to write you on the 16th. of July upon the subject of an Exchange of Major General Prescot for Major General Lee.

As I can only attribute your Silence upon a Matter so personally interesting to both those Gentlemen to your not having received my former Letter, I am induced to transmit you a duplicate of it, to which I beg leave to request an Answer. I have the Honor etc.[70]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 5, 1777.

Sir: Since I did myself the honor of writing to you the Night before last, the Enemy have remained intirely quiet. A person who came express from General Rodney,[71] informs me, that the Enemy's Shipping fell down from Cecil Court House on Tuesday last, but how low he does not know. I have desired Genl Rodney to enquire into this matter and if it be true, to send persons along the Bay Shore to see where they lay. Genl Maxwell who is just come up from the Lines, confirms the account of the

[69] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[70] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman; a copy in the writing of John Laurens, is also in the *Washington Papers*.

[71] Brig. Gen. Caesar Rodney, of the Delaware Militia.

Shipping having fallen down Elk; but it is thought, with an intent of going up the other Arm of the Bay, for the convenience of Watering near the Mouth of Susquehannah. I have the honor etc.

P. S. We have not been able to ascertain the Enemy's loss in the late Action[72] by any other way, than by a Woman that came from their Camp yesterday, she says she saw Nine Waggon loads of Wounded. I think this probable because we had about forty killed and wounded, and as our Men were thinly posted they must have done more damage upon a close Body, than they received.[73]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Wilmington, September 6, 1777.

Dear Sir: In your letter of the 22d. Ulto. you transmitted a Memorandum, requesting directions about repairing and building Barracks, and also my sentiments, as to the number of Troops that may probably Winter at Peeks Kill.

In respect to the number of Troops, that may quarter there it is difficult, if not impossible at this time to ascertain it, as a variety of Circumstances may arise in the course of the Campaign to alter any estimate that might now be made; However, I suppose there may be four thousand there and at the Forts above.

As to the Barracks, you will proceed on as saving a plan as you can, and build no more than what will be absolutely necessary. I imagine quarters may be procured, within a reasonable distance for many of the Troops, so that they would be near enough to assemble in time, against any attack, the Enemy may

[72] The skirmish at Iron Hill, Del. (See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Sept. 3, 1777, *ante*.)

[73] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

attempt to make, and if so, that Barracks need not be provided for the whole, or for more, than will be fully sufficient to guard and defend the several passes. Care and attention should be had to placing them. They shou'd not be fixed, where they will be exposed to the Enemy or be liable to be burnt by them on a sudden push, as those were at Peeks Kill in the beginning of the Spring. We must remember the event and profit by it.

Since the Enemy landed, there have been several small Skirmishes between our light parties but without any great damage to either side. We have made between seventy and eighty British prisoners, and have had several deserters, chiefly from the Ships. Their main Body lies about eight or Nine Miles from ours, but our parties are much nearer. I suppose in a little time, probably in the course of a few days, the scene will be more active and very interesting. I am etc.[74]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Wilmington, September 6, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

The General has no doubt, but that every man who has a due sense of the importance of the cause he has undertaken to defend, and who has any regard to his own honor and the reputation of a soldier will, if called to action, behave like one contending for every thing valuable; But, if contrary to his expectation, there shall be found any officers, or soldiers, so far lost to all shame as basely to quit their post without orders, or shall skulk from danger, or offer to retreat before order is given for so doing, from proper authority, of a superior officer, they are to be instantly shot down, as a just punishment to themselves, and for examples to others. This order, those in the rear, and the Corps of reserve, are to see duly executed, to

[74] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

prevent the cowardly from making a sacrifice of the brave, and by their ill example and groundless tales (calculated to cover their own shameful conduct) spreading terror as they go.

That this order may be well known, and strongly impressed upon the army, the General positively orders the Commanding officer of every regiment to assemble his men and have it read to them to prevent the plea of ignorance.

The General begs the favor of the officers to be attentive to all strange faces and suspicious characters which may be discovered in camp; and if upon examination of them no good account can be given why they are there, to carry them to the Major General of the day for further examination; this, as it is only a necessary precaution, is to be done in a manner least offensive.

The General officers are to meet at 5 O'Clock this afternoon at the brick house by White Clay creek, and fix upon proper picquets for the security of the camp.

John Laurens and Peter Presly Thornton Esqrs. are appointed Extra Aids du Camp to the Commander in Chief; all orders therefore thro' them in writing, or otherwise, are to be regarded in the same light as if proceeding from any other of his Aides du Camp.

Notwithstanding the orders relative to slaughter houses, they are still often great nuisances to the army. The Quarter Masters of divisions therefore are to see that they are fixed at proper distances, and that all offal be well buried once a day. The Commander in Chief will look to these Quarter Masters for the execution of this order, and no excuse can be admitted for the neglect of so necessary a duty.

AFTER ORDERS

Information has been given that many of the waggon horses are suffered to go loose in the fields: the Commander in Chief

strictly orders, that every night, all the waggon-horses be put to the waggons, and there kept, and if it be necessary at any time for them to go to grass, that it be only in the day time and then the waggoners must stay by them constantly; that they may be ready to tackle at the shortest notice. The waggon masters are required to see this order carefully executed. The enemy have disincumbered themselves of all their baggage, that their movements may be quick and easy. It behoves us to be alike ready for marching at a moment's warning: And for the same reason it is absolutely necessary, and the Commander in Chief positively orders, that both officers and men remain constantly at their quarters. Tattoo is no longer to be beat in camp.

To CAPTAIN BENJAMIN POLLARD

Head Qurs., New Port, September 6, 1777.

Sir: By the time this reaches you, you will have made a considerable progress in blocking up the Bridge which you had begun to lay over the Brandywine, and blocking up the Road leading to it, as soon as this business is effectually done, I should be glad to have a proper Bridge thrown over that part of the Creek and adjacent Mill Races which the Engineer pointed out to you this morning, provided the execution of such a Work would not require too long a time: this you will consider and let me know by the return of the Bearer in how little time you could undertake to perfect the Bridges in question. I am etc.[75]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Newport, September 7, 1777.

Parole Cambridge. Countersigns Dartmouth, Granby.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentences of a General Court Martial, held the 3rd. instant whereof Colonel Lawson was president.

[75] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

Capt. Lipscomb[76] of the 7th. Virginia regiment, charged with "pillaging an orchard near General Weedon's quarters, and with abusing the guard which Genl. Weedon had set to protect it."

The Court unanimously acquitted him.

Lieut. Whiting[77] of the 11th. Virginia regt. and Ensign Jouett[78] of the 7th. Virginia regt. charged with "pillaging an orchard near General Weedon's quarters, and with abusing the guard Genl. Weedon had set to protect it." The Court unanimously acquitted them.

Quarter Master Rhea[79] of the 7th. Virginia regiment, charged with "Making a partial distribution of provisions." The Court unanimously acquitted him.

The Commander in Chief also approves the following sentences of the same court martial, held the 5th. instant, and orders them to be put in execution.

Lieut. Alexander Houston of Colo. Patton's regimt. charged with "Absenting himself from the regiment from the 8th. to the 12th. of August without leave"; pleaded guilty; sentenced to be reprimanded by the Colonel of the regiment he belongs to.

Lieut. Bradford[80] of Col Pattons regt. charged with "Ordering a soldier to pull apples contrary to General orders." It appearing to the Court the prisoner had been under arrest thirteen or eighteen days, and no witnesses appearing against him the court are of opinion he should be released from his arrest.

---

[76] Capt. Reuben Lipscomb. He was transferred to the Fifth Virginia Regiment in September, 1778; died Oct. 3, 1778.

[77] Lieut. Henry Whiting.

[78] Ensign Robert Jouett. He was promoted to lieutenant September 28; transferred to the Fifth Virginia Regiment in September, 1778; transferred to the First Continental Artillery in January, 1779; wounded at Eutaw Springs, S. C.; served to end of the war.

[79] Lieut. John Rhea seems to have been acting as quartermaster for the Seventh Virginia Regiment.

[80] Lieut. James Bradford, of Patton's Additional Continental regiment. He was taken prisoner at Monmouth, N. J.; became aide to Lord Stirling in June, 1781; adjutant of the Second Continental Artillery; and was captain of United States Artillery when killed in 1791 by Indians on the Miami.

The General has received a confirmation of the intelligence mentioned in the after orders of last night that the enemy have disincumbered themselves of all their baggage, even to their tents, reserving only their blankets, and such part of their cloathing as is absolutely necessary. This indicates a speedy and rapid movement, and points out the necessity of following the example, and ridding ourselves for a few days of every thing we can possibly dispense with. As a very imperfect obedience has been paid to former orders on this subject, it is now Once More strictly enjoined, that all baggage, which can be spared both of officers and men be immediately packed up, and sent off this day to the other side of the Brandywine. This order having heretofore been eluded, by a too indulgent construction of the general terms, in which it has been couched. The General is obliged to be more explicit, and to declare, that it is his intention the officers should only retain their blankets, great coats, and three or four shifts of under cloaths, and that the men should, besides what they have on, keep only a Blanket, and a shirt a piece, and such as have it, a great coat. All trunks, chests, boxes, other bedding and cloaths, than those mentioned, to be sent away, 'till the elapsing of a few days shall determine whether the enemy mean an immediate attack, or not. It is hoped, that none will have so little sense of propriety, as to deem a measure, so obviously for the good of the army, and the service, a hardship. It would be folly in the extreme, to hazard the loss of our baggage, for the sake of a little present convenience; a loss, which at this time would be irreparable. This disadvantage of having that to take care of, at the moment of attack, when we should be preparing for defence, is evident. The attention of both officers and men will then be wholly engrossed for it's safety and the enemy will have time to be upon us before we are ready to receive them; the consequence

of this will be bustle, confusion and perhaps defeat and disgrace, the loss of our baggage, and not improbably the ruin of the army. The Commander in Chief in a particular manner looks to the General Officers for the execution of this order in their respective divisions and brigades.

The whole army is to draw two days' provisions exclusive of to day and have it cooked, and deposited with the regimental Quarter Masters, provided salt provisions can be drawn; otherwise one day's fresh provisions to be cooked, and deposited as aforesaid, and two day's hard bread, if to be had.

All the horse, except Capt. Lewis's troop,[81] are to take post on the right of the army.

The tents of the whole army are to be struck and packed up in the waggons, to morrow morning, an hour before day; and the horses tackled. All the Corps of horse are to be saddled at the same time; and the whole Army drawn up in their respective lines.

The Qr. Mr. Genl. is to spare no pains immediately to provide waggons to carry the men's packs, that they may be perfectly light and fit for action.

No more sick to be sent to Concord, but to Birmingham.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 7, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am to acknowledge the receipt of your favours of the 13th. and 20th. August. I should have answered the former before this time, but as I received it upon my march to this place, I had not an opportunity of doing it sooner.

As the expedition to St. Johns was set on foot by order of Congress, you should apply to them for directions about the

[81] Capt. Charles Lewis's troop was attached to the Commander in Chief's Guard.

payment of the Officers for the time they were engaged in that Service. I do not know any thing of the terms on which they set out and therefore cannot properly give order in the matter.

If you will send a list of the Officers of Henley's Lee's and Jackson's Regiments[82] with the exact times of their appointments, I will have their Commissions forwarded to them. After Capt. Trescot[83] was disappointed of a Majority, by Cornel's[84] Regiment falling thro', he agreed to accept of the eldest Captaincy in Henley's Regiment, by which means he would get the Majority whenever a Vacancy should happen. More than this I cannot do; for if the Custom of granting Brevets is once introduced into the Army, there will be no end to applications for them.

If the intrenching Tools that came in the Amphitrite are of so ordinary a quality the expence of removing them to Springfield will be more than their Value, you had therefore better have them carried for the present to some place in the Neighbourhood of Boston. The Grenades may be also left.

Since General Howe's debarkation in Elk River he has moved on about Seven Miles, his main Body now lays at Iron Hill and ours near a Village called Newport.[85] In this position the Armies are from eight to ten miles apart. It is yet very uncertain what Genl. Howe's plan of operations will be. Some imagine that he will extend himself from the Head Waters of Chesapeak

[82] Cols. David Henley, William R. Lee, and Henry Jackson's Additional Continental regiments.

[83] Capt. Lemuel Trescott, of the Sixth Continental Infantry, and Henley's Additional Continental regiment. He was major of same regiment in May, 1778; transferred to Jackson's Additional Continental regiment (designated the Sixteenth Massachusetts Regiment in July, 1780) in April, 1779; transferred to the Ninth Massachusetts Regiment in January, 1781; to the Seventh Massachusetts Regiment in January, 1783; to the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment in June, 1783; served to November of that year.

[84] Ezekiel Cornell, brigadier general of Rhode Island Militia. He was to have commanded an Additional Continental regiment; inspector in the Continental Army in September, 1782; served to close of the war.

[85] Newport is three or four miles southwest of Wilmington, Del.

to Delaware and by these means not only cut off the Counties on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and two of those belonging to the Delaware State from affording us any assistance, but will secure the Horses, Cattle and Forage, of which there are considerable quantities in that Country. This in my opinion, considering how far the Campaign is already advanced, would take up more time than he could spare. For supposing him able to form such an extension, he would be full as far from Philadelphia as he is at present, and he would be subject to an attack upon some part of his line which from its length could not be properly supported. A few days past he advanced two or three Miles forward, during which there was pretty sharp skirmishing between our light Troops and his Van. We had about forty killed and wounded, and I imagine the Enemy had considerably more, as ours were thinly posted behind cover, and they were in Column. I am &ca.[86]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

New Port, September 7, 1777.

Sir: His Excellency being out reconnoitring and busily engaged in the Affairs of the Army, I have the honor to acknowledge his receipt of your Letter of the 6th with the Resolutions inclosed, which came to hand yesterday Afternoon.

[86] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

On September 7 Tilghman wrote to Brig. Gen. Caesar Rodney, by direction of Washington, requesting him to move nearer to the enemy and fall on his rear should he move toward the Continental forces: "I hope, if any Spirit of disaffection should appear below, that it will soon be checked by making a severe example of the Ringleaders."

Robert Hanson Harrison wrote to Capt. William Barnet, of the Second Continental Dragoons: "It is General Washington's most positive and peremptory order, that immediately after receipt of this, you repair to His Head Quarters, with all the Men, Horses and Accoutrements under your direction; belonging to the United States. This you are to comply with, without the least possible delay, on pain of being tried and dismissed the service for disobedience of orders."

In respect to the Militia requested of Jersey, His Excellency is doubtfull whether they can be obtained; For Governor Livingston, by a late Letter, informed him, that he had no expectation, that more than Three Hundred of the Thousand called for to garrison the posts in the Highlands, would march, notwithstanding he had Issued Orders for that purpose; And, that three Weeks would probably elapse, before that Number went. If the requisition can be complied with, he has no doubt of Genl. Dickenson's exertions and is satisfied of the propriety of appointing him to the Command. This, he imagines, would have followed of course, as he is Major General of all the Militia in the State, and has given ample testimony as well of his capacity, as of his firmness and bravery.

By deserters and other intelligence, His Excellcy. was informed last night, that the Enemy's whole force left Elk yesterday, and advanced on the Road towards Christiana. The Deserters added, that they had disincumbered themselves of all their Tents and Baggage and had them back and reimbark'd them. All their Ships, except two or three, which are Ships of War are said to have fallen down the Bay below the Mouth of Sassafras. We have had no information to day, of any further movement and I beleive their Main Body lies about Iron Hill. I have the honor etc.

P. S. The deserters said, they had destroyed a good deal of the Corn &c. they found in Store.[87]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, New Port, September 8, 1777.

Sir: I was yesterday honored with yours of the 1st. Instant. You have my thanks for your ready compliance with my requisitions, thro' Genl. Putnam, for a Reinforcement to the

[87] This letter is signed "Robt. H. Harrison," and the text is in his handwriting.

important posts at Peekskill, and it is an additional pleasure to me, to find that you have also sent a Reinforcement to the Northern Army. Since General Howe's debarkation at the Head of Chesapeak Bay, he has made very little progress, having only moved five or six Miles from the Shore, with strong grounds in his front; Our advanced parties have had a Small Skirmish with his, but the damage on either side is inconsiderable. General Howe's plans are yet very mysterious, a few days ago, he sent all his Tents and Baggage on Board again and his Ships have fallen some distance down Chesapeak Bay. This can be for no other purpose, but to go round to Delaware and meet him there, as he can easily extend himself across the Istmus which is narrow. This will be a Strange Manœuvre indeed, as it will be exposing his Ships to some danger upon the Coast, at this tempestuous Season, and should an accident happen to the Fleet he must be ruined. A little time must unfold his true designs, which I trust we shall be able to baffle; as the Troops are in good Spirits and the people of the Country shew an universal good will to oppose the Common Enemy. I have the honor, etc.[88]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

6 Miles from Wilmington, September 9, 1777.

Sir: The Enemy advanced Yesterday, with a seeming intention of attacking us at our post near New port. We waited for them the whole day, but in the Evening they halted at a Place called Mill Town about two Miles from us. Upon reconnoitring their Situation, it appeared probable, that they only meant to amuse us in front, while their real intent was to march by our Right and by suddenly passing the Brandywine and gaining the heights on the North side of that River, get between us and Philadelphia and cut us off from that City. To prevent

[88] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

this it was judged expedient to change our position immediately, the Army accordingly marched at two O'Clock this Morning and will take post this Evening on the High Grounds near Chad's Ford. We have heard nothing circumstantial of the Enemy this day; when I do, I shall immediately transmit you an account. I have &ca.[89]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Wilmington, September 9, 1777.

Sir: I received your favor of the 4th. Inst, and hope by this Time, that you have arrived at Nottingham. The Enemy advanced towards us Yesterday with a seeming intention of attacking our post near New Port, We waited for them all day, but upon reconnoitering their situation in the Evening, we judged they only meant to amuse us in Front, while they marched by our right flank and gained the Heights of Brandywine. Viewing things in this light, and the consequences that would necessarily follow if such an event took place, It was thought advisable that we should change our ground and gain the Heights before 'em. This we are attempting, and I doubt [not] shall effect. I must now request, as Gen'l Howe will strain every nerve to possess Philadelphia, and as it may be expected, that his Fleet or part of it, will arrive in Delaware River in a few days, to cooperate with him, that you will move on with all possible expedition with all the Force you have or can get. I will not mark out any particular line of conduct for you to pursue, but leave it with you, either to join me or to fall upon the Rear of the Enemy as shall seem most eligible from circumstances. Your caution upon this occasion cannot be too great, Much is at Stake. I am, etc.[90]

[89] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[90] The editor is indebted to George A. Ball, of Muncie, Ind., for the text of this letter, which is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Burmingham, September 9, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———, ———.

Intelligence having been received, that the enemy, instead of advancing towards Newport, are turned another course, and appeared to have a design of marching northward—this rendered it expedient for the army to quit Newport and march northward also; which occasioned its sudden movement this morning.

Such of the troops as have not been served with Rum to day, are as soon as possible to be served with a gill a man.

The Major and Brigadier Generals of the day, accompanied by the Quarter Mr. General, will immediately reconnoitre the environs of the camp; and fix on the proper places for the posting of picquets, for its security.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Burmingham, September 10, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———, ———.

It being with much concern that the General hears the frequent complaints of the farmers, on account of the destruction of their fences &c. by which means their fields of grain and grass are exposed to devastation and ruin. He wishes, that officers of every rank, for the sake of Justice and reputation of the American Arms, would exert themselves, to correct this species of abuse: And this he is persuaded they will do, when it is considered, that no stronger proof can be given, of inattention or want of authority, than to suffer such practices to prevail in a country, abounding with wood, and by men with hatchets in their hands. Besides this, the injustice which individuals, or the public must sustain, by such practices, when there is no

kind of necessity for them, ought to strike every body in the most forcible manner.

No baggage is to be kept upon this ground that can possibly be dispensed with; and what cannot is to be loaded an hour before day, and in readiness to remove. The Quarter Master General will have orders where to send it.

The Commissary General to have, at least three days' provisions always on hand, three or four miles, in the rear of the army; and draw in what biscuit he can, and salt meat, for occasional serving. The Qr. Mr. General must furnish waggons for these purposes.

The men are to be provided with cooked provisions, for to morrow at least; for two days would be still better, if they can get such kinds as will keep.

The light horse, except those on duty, may lay quartered a little in the rear of Head Quarters.

A total stop is to be put, to all loose, disorderly firing in camp, as otherwise it will be impossible to distinguish guns fired for an alarm.

Two hundred and fifty men of Genl. Greene's, and two hundred of each other division, and one hundred of Genl. Nash's brigade, of Continental troops, and four hundred of Genl. Armstrong's division of militia, are to be drawn out daily, as picquets, and to assemble, those of Genl. Greene's, Genl. Wayne's, Lord Stirling's and General Stephen's divisions, and Genl. Nash's brigade, on the most convenient ground near the Artillery park. Genl. Sullivan's at the Centre of his division. From these picquets, all the necessary outguards are to be furnished; and the residue to remain at their respective places of assembling, ready to reinforce the out guards, or other duty, until relieved by new picquets. At every new incampment, these out-guards are to be posted by the Major General of the day, and Quarter Mr.

General, aided by the other officers of the day. As soon as the guards are posted, a report is to be made to the Commander in Chief where they are; these picquets are to be under the command of the Major General of the day, and under him, by the Brigadier General of the day. Each division will furnish a field officer, and a proportion of other officers, to take charge of it's own picquet; but Genl. Armstrong's division will furnish two such field officers. These picquets are to parade at five o'clock daily.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Chads Ford, September 10, 1777.

Dear Sir: The prospect of a descent from Staten Island on Jersey, by the Enemy posted and collected there, has induced Congress to order Fifteen Hundred Troops at Peeks Kill, with a Brigadier, to be in readiness to march for repelling them. This they have advised you of, as they informed me by Letter Yesterday. As there are many circumstances, proving this invasion likely to take place, from the seeming preparations they are making, their collecting forces from Long Island &ca, You will give orders for the above number of Troops under the Command of a Brigadier, immediately to march to Jersey and to take such posts along and in the Neighbourhood of the Sound between the Main and Staten Island, as will best answer the purposes of defeating the Enemy's views and of securing themselves against any sudden attack or surprise. I would also observe, that as this detachment is ordered from you, I think you should call in all your parties upon out commands, and that you should keep your force pretty well drawn together.

On Monday the Enemy advanced towards our post at New Port, as if they meant to attack us, but it was thought, their then appearance was only to amuse in Front, while their real object

was either to pass by our right Flank or to fall upon it. In this conjecture we were right, as their subsequent conduct has proved. Accordingly we changed our Ground Yesterday Morning, and advanced more into the Country to this post. The Enemy pursuing their former plan, moved also. By Light Horsemen just come in, they are advancing upon us. We are preparing to receive them and should they come on, I trust, under the smiles of Providence and thro' our own conduct, that we shall give them a repulse or at most, that they will have to enjoy a painful and dear bought victory. I am etc.

P. S. This Letter, His Excellency intended to sign, but was prevented by a report of the Enemy's advancing which called him out.[91]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CAESAR RODNEY

Head Qurs., near Chads Ford, September 10, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of Yesterday, and am sorry to find that so irregular a Spirit and temper prevails among your Militia. The New Castle County people have no excuse for not joining you now, as the Enemy have in a manner left [a] good part of the Country. I have received advice that their advanced Guards are within five Miles of this place. I wrote to you Yesterday to follow upon their Rear, with all the Force you could collect, and I now press it upon you in the most urgent manner; because if we should be lucky enough to give them a stroke at this distance from their Ships, you will be ready to intercept them. You will also be in the way of intercepting Convoys going to and coming from their Shipping. I desire you will be very particular in keeping the Returns of what Militia are in Service, and the time of Service, because when the Rolls

[91] This letter is signed "Robt. H. Harrison," and the text is in his handwriting.

are brought in for pay, I shall expect them to be Certified by you. For want of a little Care in this respect the public has suffered monstrous impositions. I am etc.[92]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Chads Ford, September 10, 1777.

Sir: Yesterday Evening I received the honor of your Letter of the 9th with its Several Inclosures. I have written to Genl Putnam to detach the Fifteen Hundred Men mentioned by Congress and inclosed my Letter upon the subject, which you will be pleased to forward to him by the earliest opportunity.

In respect to the Subject of Monsr. Du Coudray's Letter, I would beg leave to observe, however eligible the Measure might otherwise be, which he recommends, An attempt to carry it into execution at this time would answer no valuable purpose, as the Work in all probability could not be more than marked out, when it would be wanted. I would also add, that I do not conceive any great advantages would be derived from it, supposing it could be completed, as we are certain the Enemy will never attack Lines which they can avoid. If they were obliged to approach Philadelphia, by a particular route, in such case no exertions should be spared to erect Works, and the adoption of the plan would be highly expedient.

The Enemy are now lying near Kennet's Square and in a tolerably compact body. They have parties advanced on the Lancaster Road, and on those leading over this Ford and to Wilmington. Manœuvring appears to be their Plan; I hope notwithstanding, that we shall be able to find out their real intended route, and to defeat their purposes.

By Light Horsemen this instant come in, the Enemy are in motion and appear to be advancing towards us. His Excellency

[92] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

is giving the necessary orders and getting the Troops under Arms, which prevents him signing this himself, as was intended at first. I have the honor &ca.[93]

1. Oclock.

It is said the Enemy have halted.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Qurs., Chad's Ford, September 10, 1777.

Sir: I am favored with yours of the 5th and 6th Inst. That of the 5th, incloses Copy of a Letter from an Officer Commanding a Regt., to a Member of Congress, complaining of particular Slight of his Regt. by the Commissary, as there is no name to the Letter it is impossible for me to inquire into the matter. I never before knew, that there was any partiality shewn to the other Officers, in preference to those of the Virginia Line, in the mode of serving out Provisions, and if the matter can be proved, the Commissary guilty of such partiality ought certainly to suffer. Congress are about fixing a mode of Serving out provisions to a certain number of Messes, to the Officers in each Regiment, and I hope that will prove more Satisfactory. The Article of Bacon is extra, and is provided by the Commissary at an advanced price for the Convenience and Comfort of all the Officers and I should be sorry to think, that the General Officers should Monopolize it. I am certain they neither wish or mean it, and if the Commissaries say they have any Orders to deliver it to them only, they say what is not true, [if they mean that such orders have gone from me]. Upon the whole,

[93] This letter is signed by Harrison, and the postscript, added by him, is in the letter sent, but not in the draft.

On September 10 Harrison wrote again to Congress that Washington was out with the army; that the British had halted about a mile below Welch's Tavern. "Some interesting event may take place tomorrow, as they are within a convenient distance to attack, if they have any such intention."

the charges exhibited in the letter alluded to, are rather general ones, and all that I can do is to give the Commissary of Issues a hint, that partiality is complained of and advise him to avoid any such practice.

I cannot at present answer the Question proposed by Mr. White[94] the deputy Commissary of Issues, why the Rations claimed by the Soldiers, differ so widely from those established by Congress on the 4th Novr. 1775. As I have none of my papers, but those of a few days old with me. I know there have been many alterations and new regulations in the Commissary's department and I fancy, if you will have the Journals minutely examined, you will find whence the difference arises. I am &c.[95]

To COLONEL THEODORICK BLAND

20 minutes after o'clock,
Chad's Ford,[96] September 11, 1777.

Sir: I earnestly entreat a continuance of your vigilant attention to the movements of the enemy, and the earliest report not only of their movements, but of their numbers and the course they are pursuing. In a particular manner I wish to gain satisfactory information of a body confidently reported to have gone up to a ford seven or eight miles above this. It is said the fact is certain. You will send up an intelligent, sensible officer immediately with a party to find out the truth, what number it consists of, and the road they are now on. Be particular in these matters. I am, etc.[97]

[94] Charles White.

[95] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The phrase in brackets was added by Washington.

[96] On September 11 Washington's quarters were in John McIlvain's house, near Ridley, now Leiperville, Delaware County, Pa.

[97] The text is from Reed's *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, vol. 1

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Chads Ford, 5 O'Clock P. M., September 11, 1777.

Sir: When I had the Honor of addressing you this Morning,[98] I mentioned, that the Enemy were advancing and had began a Canonade, I would now beg leave to inform you that they have kept up a brisk fire from their Artillery ever since. Their advanced party was attacked by our light Troops under Genl. Maxwell, who crossed the Brandywine for that purpose, and had posted his Men on some High Grounds on each side the Road. The fire from our People was not of long duration, as the Enemy pressed on in force, but was very severe. What loss the Enemy sustained, cannot be ascertained with precision; but from our situation and the briskness of the attack, It is the general opinion, particularly of those who were engaged, that they had at least Three Hundred Men killed and wounded. Our damage is not exactly known; but from the best accounts we have been able to obtain, It does not exceed fifty in the whole. After this affair, the Enemy halted upon the Heights where they have remained ever since, except a detachment of them which filed off about 11 O'Clock from their left, and which has since passed Brandywine at Jones's Ford, between Five and Six Miles above Chads. The amount of it is not known, accounts respecting it being various, some making it Two or three thousand strong and others more. Generals Sullivan, Stirling and Stephen with their divisions are gone in pursuit and to attack it, if they can, with any prospect of Success. There has been a Scattering loose fire between our parties on each side the Creek, since the Action in the Morning, which just now became warm, when Genl. Maxwell pushed over with

[98] Harrison had written a short note stating that the enemy had advanced to near the Brandywine.

his Corps, and drove them from their Ground with the loss of thirty Men left dead on the Spot, among them a Captn. of the 49th, and a number of Intrenching Tools with which they were throwing up a Battery.

At half after four O'Clock, the Enemy attacked Genl Sullivan at the Ford next above this and the Action has been very violent ever since. It still continues. A very severe Cannonade has began here too and I suppose we shall have a very hot Evening. I hope it will be a happy one. I have the honor etc.[99]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

At Midnight, Chester, Setember 11, 1777.

Sir: I am sorry to inform you, that in this day's engagement, we have been obliged to leave the enemy masters of the field. Unfortunately the intelligence received of the enemy's advancing up the Brandywine, and crossing at a ford about six miles above us, was uncertain and contradictory, notwithstanding all my pains to get the best. This prevented my making a disposition, adequate to the force with which the Enemy attacked us on the right; in consequence of which the troops first engaged, were obliged to retire before they could be reinforced. In the midst of the attack on the right, that body of the Enemy which remained on the other side of Chad's Ford, crossed it, and attacked the division there under the command of General Wayne and the light troops under General Maxwell who, after a severe conflict, also retired. The Militia under the command of Major Genl. Armstrong, being posted at a ford, about two miles below Chad's, had no opportunity of engaging. But though we fought under many disadvantages, and were from

[99] This letter is signed by Harrison and is indorsed as read in Congress September 12. Under Harrison's signature is written: "Published by order of Congress. Chas. Thomson, Secy."

the causes, above mentioned obliged to retire, yet our loss of men is not, I am persuaded, very considerable, I beleive much less than the enemy's. We have also lost about seven or eight pieces of cannon, according to the best information I can at present obtain. The baggage having been previously moved off, is all secure, saving the men's Blankets, which being at their backs, many of them doubtless are lost.

I have directed all the Troops to Assemble behind Chester, where they are now arranging for this Night. Notwithstanding the misfortune of the day, I am happy to find the troops in good spirits; and I hope another time we shall compensate for the losses now sustained. The Marquis La Fayette was wounded in the leg, and Genl. Woodford in the hand. Divers other Officers were wounded and some Slain, but the number of either cannot now be ascertained. I have &ca.

P. S. It has not been in my power to send you earlier intelligence; the present being the first leisure moment I have had since the action.[1]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Birmingham, September 11, 1777.

Parole Williamsburgh. Countersigns Hampton, Norfolk.

(Battle of Brandywine.)

[1] Greene's *Life of Nathanael Greene* (vol. 1, p. 454) relates that Washington was too fatigued to write to Congress after the battle and directed one of his aides to do it. Harrison was too "distressed," and so it fell to Pickering, the Adjutant General. "I wrote it and gave it to the General to read. He, with perfect composure, directed me to add a consolatory hope that another day would give a more fortunate result." Both the draft and the letter signed are in Pickering's writing and, in view of the importance attached to Pickering's recollections of Washington by some, it should be noted that neither draft nor letter signed show any evidence that the "consolatory hope" was an addition to the letter, while the postscript, as above, was evidently an after thought. This is sufficient to show the necessity of accepting Pickering's recollections with some caution.

Congress had requested Washington (September 9): "to appoint a proper person at headquarters to write to the president twice a day, or oftener if necessary, advising the position and movements of the armies." The Board of War was ordered to appoint expresses to convey these letters.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Chester, September 12, 1777.

Parole Schuylkill. Countersigns Derby, Germantown.

The commanding officer of each brigade is immediately to send off as many officers as he shall think necessary on the roads leading to the places of action yesterday, and on any other roads where stragglers may be found; particularly to Wilmington, where 'tis said, many have retired, to pick up all the stragglers from the army, and bring them on. In doing this, they will proceed as far, towards the enemy, as shall be consistant with their own safety, and examine every house. In the mean time the troops are to march on in good order thro' Derby to the bridge over Schuylkill, cross it, and proceed up to their former ground near the falls of Schuylkill, and Germantown, and there pitch their tents. Genl. Greene's division will move last and cover the baggage, stores &c.

A gill of rum or whiskey is to be served out to each man who has not already received that allowance.

General Maxwell's light Corps will remain at Chester, collect all the stragglers they can, and to morrow morning follow the army.

The directors of the hospital will see, that all the sick, and wounded be sent to Trenton. In doing this, General Maxwell will give them all necessary assistance.

The General expects that each Brigadier, or officer commanding a brigade will immediately make the most exact returns of their killed, wounded and missing.

AFTER ORDERS

The officers are, without loss of time to see that their men are completed with ammunition; that their arms are in the best order, the inside of them washed clean and well dried;

the touch-holes picked, and a good flint in each gun. The strictest attention it is expected will be paid to this order as the officers must be sensible their own honor, the safety of the soldier, and success of the cause depends absolutely upon a careful execution of it. The commanding officer of each regiment is to endeavour to procure such necessaries, as are wanting, for his men. No time is to be lost in doing this.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Derby, September 12, 1777.

Sir: Having more maturely considered the Situation and circumstances of the Enemy since Colo. Hamilton wrote you this morning. It appears to me, that the Forces under your command, cannot be employed to so much advantage in any way, as by falling on the Enemy's Rear and attacking them as often as possible. I am persuaded many advantages will result from this measure. It will greatly retard their march and give us time, and will also oblige them, either to keep a strong guard with their Sick and Wounded, with which they must now be much incumbered, or to send them back to their Shipping under a large escort, which you will have an opportunity of attacking with a good prospect of Success. Add to these considerations, that before you could join me by a circuitous march and your Troops were rested, matters might be brought to a crisis. I therefore wish you to pursue the line of conduct I have pointed out, and must urge you to every possible degree of diligence and dispatch. I also wish you to write to Genl. Rodney of Delaware and Colo. Gist, requesting them to push on and join you with all the force they have and can collect. It will be advisable too, for you to send into the Country as you march, and to call in every aid you can. But I would not have you to wait for their

joining, as they can do it after you have proceeded near the Enemy. No exertions can be too great at this time, and if the people would make a Spirited effort, there is the strongest Reason to believe the present contest would terminate happily and Speedily. I am, etc.[2]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, near Germantown, September 13, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———, ———.

The General, with peculiar satisfaction, thanks those gallant officers and soldiers, who, on the 11th. instant, bravely fought in their country and its cause. If there are any whose conduct reflects dishonour upon soldiership, and their names are not pointed out to him, he must, for the present, leave them to reflect, how much they have injured their country, how unfaithful they have proved to their fellow-soldiers; but with this exhortation, that they embrace the first opportunity which may offer to do justice to both, and to the profession of a soldier. Altho' the event of that day, from some unfortunate circumstances, was not so favorable as could be wished, the General has the satisfaction of assuring the troops, that from every account he has been able to obtain, the enemy's loss greatly exceeded ours;[3] and he has full confidence that in another Appeal to Heaven (with the blessing of providence, which it becomes every officer and soldier humbly to supplicate), we shall prove successful.

[2] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[3] In the *Papers of the Continental Congress* (152, 5, folio 87) is "a true Copy of a Return found in one of the British officers Marquis at the time of the Engagement at Germantown on the 4th of Octobr. 1777", which is headed "State British Forces and Disposition Septr. 11th 1777 at the upper Ford under the Command Lt. Gl. Lord Cornwallis." The British loss at Brandywine appears on this paper as 1,976, but no distinction is made as to what proportion of this total were killed and what wounded. Charles Thomson has indorsed this document "Copy of a return of the British forces and of the killed and wounded at the Battle of Brandiwine."

The Honble Congress, in consideration of the gallant behaviour of the troops on Thursday last, their fatigue since and from a full conviction that on every future occasion they will manifest a bravery worthy of the cause they have undertaken to defend, having been pleased to order thirty hogsheads of rum to be distributed among them, in such manner as the Commander in Chief should direct. He orders the Commissary General of Issues, to deliver to each officer and soldier, one gill per day, while it lasts.

The commanding officer of each brigade, without delay is to send a number of active officers into the city, and its environs, to pick up, and bring to camp, all straggling soldiers whom they may find, as well those belonging to other brigades, as their own. Likewise a serjeant from each brigade, to the bridge over Schuylkill, to direct the soldiers as they cross, where to find their respective brigades.

At roll-calling this afternoon, the men are to be charged not to be out of *Drum-call* of their respective parades, under pain of death; nor the officers, as they value the service and dread cashiering.

The Qr Mr Genl. is to have the waggons of each brigade immediately arranged, so as to move them in their proper line, at a moment's warning. The order of the incampment at this place need not be attended to, as our stay here will be short. Each division is to encamp in as compact order as possible to night.

All the Continental troops are to be supplied immediately, with forty rounds of cartridges, and the officers will see, that the soldiers carry their spare ammunition, in such a manner, as to avoid injury and loss.

The Cloathier General is ordered to send spare shoes, shirts &c. to camp, to furnish such men as are destitute. The

commanding officers therefore of corps are to delay no time, in supplying the absolute wants of their men.

The General does most ardently exhort every officer to attend to the due and speedy execution of these orders without a moment's loss of time.

AFTER ORDERS

The following proportion of tents is allowed the army upon the next march, vizt.

One soldier's tent for the field Officers of each regiment.
One ditto..... for every four commissioned officers.
One do ..... for eight Serjeants, Drums or fifes.
One do ..... for eight privates.

The Brigadiers to have returns made out, and the above proportion of tents taken for their brigades, and one waggon for every fifty tents, and no more. No woman under any pretence whatsoever to go with the army, but to follow the baggage. The soldiers are to carry their camp kettles, which, if the army should come to action, are to be put into waggons with the tents. The invalids, under a good subaltern, are to guard the tents of each brigade.

The division Commissaries are directed to have a constant supply of provision for the troops, and the Qr Mr General must without fail furnish the necessary waggons for that purpose. A gill of rum or other spirits a day to be dealt out to each officer and private until further orders. The Commissaries are to make provision accordingly.

The army to be ready to march precisely at *nine* o'clock to morrow morning. The General Officers, commanding divisions will receive the order of march from the Q M Genls. who will also direct the route of the baggage.

To COLONEL STEPHEN MOYLAN

Camp at Mr. Hills, September 13, 1777.

Sir: You will perceive by the inclosed Letter from Colo. Flower to Mr. Rittenhouse, that the removal of our Military Stores from French Creek is an object of great importance. For the purpose, a number of Waggons must be collected as soon as possible; I therefore desire, that you will immediately detach Twenty Light Dragoons under an Active Officer, without a moments loss of time to assist Mr. Rittenhouse at French Creek, in procuring such a Quantity as he may judge necessary, and to render such other Services as he (the Officer may think material). You will instruct the Officer to procure the Waggons in the least exceptionable manner. But they must be had without one instants delay. The Stores must be removed immediately or they may be destroyed. I am &ca.[4]

To CHARLES STEWART

Head Qurs., Germantown, September 13, 1777.

Sir: The Army will move from this place to morrow morning to the Swedes Ford and from thence towards the Enemy by such Route as circumstances may require. You will therefore take care to lay in Supplies of provision and liquor at such places as you may deem most convenient. As it is intended that the Army shall move with as much dispatch and as light as possible, you are to carry with you as much hard Bread as you can at present and let a further quantity follow. As I would not wish that the intended Route of the Army should be made

[4]The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

On September 13 Tench Tilghman wrote to Moylan, by direction of Washington, that the main body of his cavalry might be quartered in the barracks upon the Schuylkill. He was cautioned to be vigilant, and warned that reconnoitering officers too often accepted reports from others without attending to it themselves, and reminded that officers would be held to strict accountability should any accident happen to the Army from false intelligence.

public, you are desired to make your dispositions without informing any persons but those to whom it is necessary to make it known. I am &ca.[5]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, German Town, September 13, 1777.

Sir: I have been honoured with your favor of this date. I heartily wish the Works on Delaware were compleated, but I think, and in this opinion my Officers concur, that the Service will be injured, if any part of the Continental Troops were now to be employed about them.[6] If we should be able to oppose Genl. Howe with Success in the Field, the works will be unnecessary. If not, and he should force us from hence, he will certainly possess himself of them. But to prevent his attempting it now, I have directed the Meadows over Province Island to be overflowed immediately, and any other Grounds that may be thought necessary for that purpose. The Works have been more peculiarly under the direction of Monsr. Du Coudray, and I doubt not he will pay every attention to their completion and security, that the situation of affairs will admit of. A part of the Militia under Genl. Armstrong will be posted along Schuylkill, to throw up Redoubts at the different Fords, which will be occasionally occupied, whilst I move to the other side with the Main body of the Army. This disposition appears to me most eligible, from a consideration of all circumstances and better, than if any part of our present force was to be employed at the Forts. If further Reinforcements of the Militia should come in, they perhaps may be more properly assigned to that business than any we now have.

[5] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[6] By a resolve of September 13 Washington was "directed to give the necessary orders for compleating the defences of Delaware River and to employ for that purpose such officers, engineers and troops as he shall think proper."

Your Letter respecting General De Borre[7] just now came to hand. I shall transmit him a Copy of it and of the Resolution. There can be no Court of inquiry into his conduct, at this time; as soon as the State of the Army will admit, it will be held. I have the honor etc.[8]

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Qurs., Germantown, September 13, 1777.

Sir: I was this morning honored with yours of yesterday. I am pleased to find, that you have ordered an additional number of Militia to assemble at the Swedes Ford, at which and the other practicable passages for some distance up the River, I have directed small close Redoubts to be thrown up. This work will be executed under the Command and direction of Genl. Armstrong, who will also employ some of the Militia at present in the Field, upon the same Service.

I wish it were in my power to turn any part of my present force, to the Completion of the Works upon Delaware, but in our present Situation, it cannot be afforded; except Genl. Howe can be checked upon land, the obstructions in the River will be of little avail, for if he can once totally defeat this Army, he will take possession of the Forts of course and turn our own Guns upon our Ships, Galleys and floating Batteries. In my opinion, the River would be Sufficiently Secured against any Sudden attack by Water only, if the City Artillery Companies were thrown into Fort Mifflin, and all the Vessels of War of different kinds, drawn up behind the Chevaux de Frize. I have

[7] Brig. Gen. Preudhomme de Borre. He commanded a brigade in Sullivan's division at the Battle of Brandywine. "In consequence of some information Congress have received" Washington was directed to order a court of inquiry into Borre's conduct, and he was meanwhile recalled from the Army by a resolution of September 13. The next day Borre offered his resignation to the President and it was accepted.

[8] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

given orders to Colo. Penrose[9] to overflow the Ground upon Province Island, which will render it impossible for the Enemy to approach the Fort in the rear and raise Batteries against it. As I am well apprized of the importance of Philadelphia, you may rest assured, that I shall take every Measure in my power to defend it, and I hope you will agree with me in Sentiment that the only effectual method will be to oppose Genl Howe with our whole united Force. I am this moment favored with yours of this date and thank you for your Compliance to my request for removing the Continental Soldiers, who may be loitering in the City. I have the honor etc.[10]

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters of the Army, September 13, 1777.

Sir: I was this Evening honored with your Letter of the 12th. The attention, which, you are pleased to assure me, has been paid to the Officers and Privates of the Army under my command, who were unfortunately wounded in the Action on Thursday last, has a claim to my acknowledgements. Agreeable to the permission you offer, I have directed the following Gentlemen, Doctors Rush, Leiper and Latimer and Mr. Willet, a Mate in the Hospital with their Attendants, to wait upon you, and to take them under their care. The Wounded will be considered in the light you place them. I am etc.

P. S. I have thought proper to add Doctrs. Way and Coats to the Surgeons above mentioned, that the Wounded may have the earliest relief.[11]

---

[9] Col. Joseph Penrose. He had been colonel of the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment, but resigned early in 1777 in a rank dispute. From this letter he seems to have again entered either the State or Continental service.

[10] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[11] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. At the end of the draft the following was struck out: "and shall be glad you will order an Authentic List of their Names to be delivered to Surgeons, that such as can be recovered may be duly accounted for."

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, September 13, 1777.

Sir: I must request you would immediately give some publick Notice to the Inhabitants of the City not to entertain or harbour the Soldiers in their Houses. And in order to oblige those who have straggled into Town to join their respective Corps, they are to deliver them up to the Patrols which will pass thro' the Town in order to collect all Stragglers, and in Case of Refusal to turn out, the Inhabitants are desired to give Notice of them to the Patrols. The Necessity and Interest of the Service, as well as the Peace and good Order of the City will, I hope, ensure a ready Compliance with this Request, and a strict Attention to it on the part of the Inhabitants. I am, etc.[12]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Camp at Germantown, September 14, 1777.

Dear Sir: By express this moment received from Genl. Dickinson, the Enemy have crost over from New York and Staten Island in two divisions, one at Elizabeth Town the other at Second River, each division consisting of about a thousand Men with Artillery.

By your returns it appears you have three thousand Six hundred and eight men including the Militia and Sergeants fit for duty at your post, besides the detachment of 1500 already ordered, a further detachment will be necessary to reinforce the first. You will therefore immediately on the receipt of this detach a thousand more and if Genl. McDougall did not come on with the first detachment he must come on with this, let the detachment be made as privately as possible.

[12] The text is from the *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. 1, p. 619.

You will immediately write to Governor Trumbull the State of affairs and request, as this appears to be a Crisis, a reinforcement of 2000 Militia to secure the posts in the Highlands and to enable you to make further detachments, if circumstances should render it necessary.

You will garrison Fort Montgomery and the other fortifications about it with some of your best Troops and secure the passes into the Highlands with the remainder of the Continental Troops and the Militia. As it is not improbable the Enemy may make a diversion up the North River, by way of amusing you and to take advantages, as circumstances may favour their design, you cannot be too vigilant. You will write, in the most pressing terms, to Governor Trumbull to hasten in the Militia.

The Letter that accompanies this for Genl. Heath let it be forwarded with all imaginable dispatch.

The advance party of the Enemy are within three Miles of Chester, we shall recross the Schuylkill this day to take another look at them. I am etc.[13]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Qurs., near German Town, September 14, 1777.

Dear Sir: As the object of the Enemy is now reduced to an absolute certainty, and they are bending their whole force with great vigour to the Southward, it can no longer answer any valuable purpose to keep a body of Continental troops in your State, whose presence in the further progress of the campaign will probably be essentially necessary in this quarter. You will therefore, on receipt of this, exert yourself to dispatch forward all the Continental troops now in your State, to join this Army, *with all possible expedition*. Not a moments time is to be lost. The call for them is to the last degree urgent.

[13] The draft is in the writing of Nathanael Greene.

On the 11th. instant, we had a pretty general Engagement with the Enemy, which from some unlucky incidents terminated against us, so far as to our being obliged to quit the field after an obstinate action, with the loss of some men and Artillery. But from every account we have reason to believe the Enemy suffered much more than we did in the number of killed and wounded. Our Troops have not lost their Spirits, and I am in hopes we shall soon have an Opportunity of compensating for the disaster we have sustained.

We brought the Army to this place to refresh them with convenience and security, and are just beginning our march to return towards the Enemy. Hurry of business prevents my giving you particulars. I am etc.[14] [MS. H. S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG

Head Qurs., Sunday Morning, 7 O'Clock,
September 14, 1777.

Sir: I last night wrote to the Officer commanding at the Bridge, ordering him to have it moved immediately, which I understand has been by some means neglected. I have therefore to request that you will have it executed directly, as the Enemy (being now advanced near Chester) will probably detach a party of light Troops to take possession of it, particularly when they come to understand that we have taken the Route which is determined on. You will also pay due attention to the Fords up the Schuylkill, and have any Works you see necessary thrown up for their defence. Colo. Du Portail and his Officers will attend you for this purpose.[15] As it is not expected that

[14] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The draft in the *Washington Papers*, also in Hamilton's writing, shows some minor variations.

[15] On September 14 Washington wrote to Du Portail ordering him to report to Armstrong "and take his orders about throwing up some small works along the Schuylkill, which must be such as can be most speedily executed." The letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

these Works will have occasion to stand a long defence, they should be such as can with the least labour and in the shortest time be completed, only that part of them which is opposed to cannon, need be of any considerable thickness and the whole of them should be rather calculated for dispatch than any unnecessary Decorations or Regularity which Engineer's are frequently too fond of. Guards should be kept at all the Ferries to take care of the Boats, as long as they are necessary for use, after which they should be drawn up and there also guarded. Inclosed you have an order to Colo. Du Portail to wait on you. I am &ca.[16]

*To BRIGADIER GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL, OR OFFICER COMMANDING THE DETACHMENT FROM PEEKSKILL

Camp near Schuylkill, September 14, 1777.

Sir: I have just receivd the Inclosed Information from Genl. Dickenson through Congress, and in consequence, desire that you will, if the Enemy should appear in force, and have more in view than to Plunder and distress the Country, join Genl. Dickenson with the Detachment under your Command, and give every opposition to the Enemy in their March through the Jerseys you possibly can. The Public Stores which from time to time have been sent up the Delaware to Trenton &ca., is an object of much moment and will claim your attention.

If Genl. Dickenson's Intelligence should proove erroneous or these Parties should have returnd back to Staten Island, you are in either of these cases to move forward and join the Army under my immediate command with all possible expedition. I am etc.

[16]The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Bucks Tavern on the Lancaster Road,
September 14, 1777.

Dear Sir: His Excellency has received your Letter of Yesterday, and is sorry to find the Force you have is so small, and that too, so illy provided with Arms and Ammunition. To remedy the former, will be extremely difficult, I may add impracticable. As to the latter, an order has been given to Genl. Knox to send on a supply. His Excellency begs you will push on as expeditiously as possible with what Troops you now have, leaving those in your rear to follow, and that you will either annoy and harrass the Enemy on their Flank or Rear, or proceed to join him as shall seem best from circumstances. The Ammunition he expects you will meet; but he wishes you, if you can, to obtain a supply of powder out of a Quantity said to be deposited at a Saml. Youngs, about Nine Miles from Wilmington in Mill Creek Hundred. You will also write Colo. Gist and give him such directions to Cooperate with you, as shall appear most conducive to the Service. The General also desires, that you will be punctual in giving him information every day by trusty persons, of your Route, your views and of the places you will encamp at, that he may be in a situation to concert such a Line of Conduct as may be best to be pursued. Your own good judgment and feelings will readily suggest the necessity of the most vigorous exertions at this interesting period, and I am persuaded you will afford every Aid in your power with all possible dispatch. The Enemy are now advanced, as far as and there is every reason to believe they will make a violent effort to possess themselves of Philadelphia and that in the course of two or three days at farthest. I am etc.

P. S. Having spoken to many of my Officers respecting the Line of conduct you should pursue, it is the general Opinion, that you can not render so much Service, as by perpetually hanging on and annoying their Rear. This I wish you to do without you should find it unadvisable from some very particular circumstances.[17]

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Head Qurs., near German Town, September 14, 1777.

Sir: I have this morning received a Copy of your Letter to Congress, informing of the Enemy's incursion into the Jersies. You will perceive by the inclosed Letters what steps I have taken in consequence of your information. After perusing them, you will forward them with all dispatch. On your part I am confident you will do every thing in your power to assist in counteracting the Enemy. I am etc.[18]

To COLONEL WILLIAM RUMNEY

Camp at Bucks Tavern,
10 Miles from Philadelphia, September 14, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have been favoured with your Letter of the 10th. and am happy to find, the Militia of Fairfax County have turned out with such readiness at this interesting period. Their conduct is truly laudable and has a claim to my thanks. As Philadelphia is evidently the object of General Howe's expedition into Chesapeak Bay, and he is now making a violent effort to possess himself of it, I think your Regiment should immediately

[17] This letter was signed "Robt. H. Harrison," but from the tenor of the postscript it was evidently dictated by Washington.

[18] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

proceed to Lancaster in Pennsylvania from whence their aid can be more easily had, then if they remain at Frederick Town. The same line of conduct should be pursued by such other Militia, as are now there, or may be Assembling. Which I wish you to communicate to their Commanding Officers. You will be pleased to advise me of your approach and that of any other Troops, to that post, that I may be enabled to give such further directions respecting your destination, as the situation of affairs may require. I am etc.[19]

To MAJOR FRANCIS MURRAY[20]

Head Qurs., near Germantown, September 14, 1777.

Sir: As I have ordered that a Detachment of the Troops march from Peeks Kill to join this Army, which I expect will very soon come thro' Morris Town or its Neighbourhood. It is my desire that you hold the Men under your command in readiness immediately to join them and proceed with them to us, or to any other place where it shall appear necessary to order them. If any Commissary or Quarter Masters Stores remain at Morris Town, you will order them back in the Country and give every Assistance in your power for executing it. I am &ca.[21]

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING AT SCHUYLKILL

Head Quarters, September 14, 1777.

Sir: You are immediately upon receipt of this to loose the Schuylkill Bridge from its moorings and let it swing to the Philadelphia side of the River and there fastened; this order which was sent to you from me in positive terms last night, you injudiciously waved carrying into execution, it is now repeated to you, and you will be made answerable for any ill consequences, which may attend a farther neglect, the boats will be fully

[19] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[20] Major of a Pennsylvania State regiment.
[21] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

sufficient for ferrying over any Waggons &ca. employed in necessary public Service. I am &ca.[22]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., near German Town, September 14, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of this Morning, inclosing the Copy of a Letter from General Dickinson. In consequence of the interesting information contained in it, I have written to General Putnam, directing him to send forward a second detachment of a thousand Men, in addition to the former, as you will perceive by the inclosed duplicate of my Letter to him, which you will be pleased to seal and dispatch, as expeditiously as possible, lest the original should by any accident miscarry. I have the honor etc.

P. S. You have also Copies of other letters, by which you will perceive the measures I am taking; and which you will be pleased in like manner to forward. On Second thought, I should be glad you would transmit the inclosures, open, to General Dickinson for his perusal and information and to be forwarded by him.[23]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, September 14, 1777.

Parole Vigilance. Countersign Safety.

The army is to march to morrow morning as soon as it is well light.[24]

---

[22] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

[23] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[24] In the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress is a copy of the following general orders, attributed to Washington, under date of September 14. The source is not stated: "The troops are to march to Swedes' Ford in the following order, by subdivisions from the right, viz: First, two-thirds of the Light Dragoons, from which their commanding officer will detach small parties in front, to reconnoitre on the flanks to a considerable distance. Second, a Captain's command from General Smallwood's Brigade, 800 yards in their rear. Third, one regiment from same brigade, 200 yards in *their* [rear]. Fourth, the main body of the army 500 yards in their rear, in the following order, viz: 1st. General Sullivan's Division, 2d. Lord

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, near the Warren tavern,
September 15, 1777.

Parole Frankfort. Countersign Dover.

The whole line, while it continues unseperated, is to furnish *600* men properly officered, for guards &c. Each brigade to give in proportion to it's strength. These men are to be under the immediate direction of the Major General, and other officers of the day, who, with the assistance of the Q Mr General, agreeably to the order of the 10th. instant, are to see that these outguards are posted in such manner, as most effectually to secure the camp. If the different avenues to it, should not require the above number, the overplus are to remain, as a picquet near the park of artillery, and be always ready to reinforce any guard, or answer any other purpose that the Major General, or other officers of the day shall think necessary. These guards in common are to parade at eight o'clock in the morning, near the artillery park; but whenever the troops are to march, they are to assemble there at least half an hour before the time appointed, for the march of the army; and from thence the Major General, or other officers of the day will order so many of them, as he or they shall think necessary, to move on with the Qr. Masters to the place of destination, and after the grounds and all the avenues to the new incampment, are well reconnoitred, the guards are to be posted.

Stirling's, 3d. General Wayne's, 4th. Park of Artillery, 5th. General Nash's Brigade, 6th. General Stevens' Division, 7th. General Greene's. Fifth, the wagons with stores, hospital stores, and commissaries' stores. Sixth, a rear guard of two regiments from Weedon's Brigade. Seventh, a Captain's command from these two regiments, at the distance of 200 yards. Eight, the remaining third of the Light Dragoons, 500 yards from the foot. Ninth, a subaltern's command from these Dragoons, at the distance of 500 yards.

"The guards in front and rear, and each brigade, to send out small flanking parties on their left. The rear guard of foot, and the Light Dragoons, to pick up all stragglers."

Such troops as have not been supplied with their complement of cartridges, agreeably to the orders of the 13th. instant, are to be furnished instantly. The troops are also to get provisions cooked, for to morrow at least. The Cloathier Genl. is attending with shoes &c; the officers commanding regts. are to delay no time in getting their men supplied.

In future, whenever the men are formed for action, the Serjeants are to be placed in the ranks, on the flanks of subdivisions, that the benefit of their fire may not be lost. The Brigadiers and Officers commanding regiments are also to post some good officers in the rear, to keep the men in order; and if in time of action, any man, who is not wounded, whether he has arms or not, turns his back upon the enemy, and attempts to run away, or to retreat before orders are given for it, those officers are instantly to put him to death. The man does not deserve to live, who basely flies, breaks his solemn engagements, and betrays his country.

Such men belonging to Genl. Maxwell's light corps as have returned to their regiments, are again to join Genl Maxwell without delay; and the officers commanding regiments are to make diligent search for those men, and see that they are sent to join that corps immediately.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

September 15, 1777.

Sir: Your favor of yesterday with its several Inclosures, came to hand last night. Tho' I would willingly pay every attention to the Resolutions of Congress, yet in the late instance respecting the recall of Genl Sullivan,[25] I must [beg leave to] defer

[25] September 14 Congress, in a flurry of disappointment over the Battle of Brandywine, ordered that Sullivan, to whose lack of energy the loss of the battle was ascribed, be recalled from the Army until the inquiry, previously ordered into his conduct,

giving any order about It, [till I hear further from that Honble. Body.] Our Situation at this time is critical and delicate, and nothing should be done to add to its embarrassments. We are now most probably on the point of another Action, and to derange the Army by withdrawing so many General Officers from it, may and must be attended with many disagreeable, if not ruinous, Consequences. Such a proceeding at another time, might not produce any bad effects, but How can the Army be possibly conducted with a prospect of Success, if the General Officers are taken off, in the moment of Battle? Congress may rely upon it, such a measure will not promote, but injure the service. It is not my wish to prevent or to delay a proper inquiry into Genl Sullivan's Conduct, a single instant, when the Circumstances of the Army will admit; But now they prohibit it, and, I think, the suspension in his command also. The recall of Genl. St. Clair, obliged me to part with Genl. Lincoln, whom I could but illy spare, so that the whole charge of his division is now upon Genl. Wayne, [there being no other Brigr.] in it than himself. The Maryland Troops, if Genl Sullivan is taken away, will not have one Genl. Officer, Genl Smallwood being at the Head of the Militia coming from that State and Genl. DeBorre suspended; added to this, Colo. Gist who Commands one Regiment of them, is now from it, by Order. In a word Sir, whether the charges alledged against Genl. Sullivan are true or false, or whether his conduct has been exceptionable or not, I am satisfied, the resolution for his recall at this time, was unhappily adopted, and if carried into execution, will not fail to add new

could be made. This was an indirect criticism of Washington for not having ordered a court of inquiry on Sullivan's conduct of the expedition against Staten Island. Thomas Burke's letter to Sullivan (Oct. 12, 1777) details the Brandywine charges. (See Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, vol. 2, p. 519.) At Brandywine Sullivan practically duplicated his ineptitude at the Battle of Long Island and permitted the British to outflank and surprise him in precisely the same manner. A court of inquiry afterwards honorably acquitted General Sullivan.

difficulties to our present distresses. And I am obliged to observe, in justice to my own Charactr. that I cannot be answerable for the consequences which may arise from a want of Officers to assist me.[26]

It gives me great pleasure to find Genl Gates is on so respectable a footing, and I hope our affairs in that Quarter in the course of a little time, will be in as prosperous a train, as we could reasonably wish.

[The main body of the Enemy (from the best Intelligence I have been able to get) lay near Dilworth Town, not far from the Field of Action where they have been busily Employed in burying their Dead, which from Accounts amounted to a very considerable Number.[27] We are moving up this Road to get in between the Enemy and the Swedes Ford and to prevent them from turning our right flank, which they seem to have a violent inclination[28] to effect,[29] by all their Movements.]

I would beg leave to recommend, in the most earnest manner, that some Board or Committee be appointed or some mode adopted for obtaining supplies of Blankets for the Troops. Many are now without, and the Season becoming cold, they will be injured in their Health and unfitted for Service, unless they are immediately provided with them. Our Supplies in this instance, as well as in every Article of Cloathing, can not be too great as there are frequent losses, not easily to be avoided. I would also observe, that I think, in point of prudence and Sound policy, Every Species of Provisions, should be removed from the City, except such as will be necessary to supply the

[26] In the draft this clause, in Washington's writing, appears thus: "to which in Justice to my own charactr. I am obliged to ansr. that I cannot be responsible for conseqs. witht. Offirs. to assist me."

[27] In the draft this phrase, in Washington's writing, appears as: "near, between Birmingham Meeting House."

[28] Washington wrote "propensity" in the draft.

[29] The draft in Washington's writing has "do."

present demands of this Army. I have been told there are considerable quantities in private Hands, which should not be suffered to remain for a moment longer than they can be conveyed away. I have &ca.[30]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp between Warren and White Horse Taverns,
September 16, 1777.

Sir: I arrived here last night with the Army, and am now so far advanced, as to be in a position to meet the Enemy on the Route to Swedes Ford, if they should direct their course that way. Their situation, I believe, from the best information I have been able to obtain, is nearly the same it was Yesterday Evening when I wrote you. I have ordered all the Troops to be refreshed this Morning, as they were late in getting to their Ground last night, and they are now cooking their provision. In the meantime, I intend to see my Genl. Officers and to collect their sentiments upon the subject of our next movement and operations. Genl. Smallwood was at Oxford meeting House yesterday; he has with him about 1150 Rank and file fit for duty, but not more than 860 or 70 are well armed. Some are without any. They want Ammunition too and many necessaries. The former I ordered on Sunday. Colo. Gist is at Christiana with about Seven hundred Men, who will form a junction with Genl. Smallwood. I have the Honor etc.[31]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Yellow Springs, September 17, 1777.

Sir: I have been honored with your two favors of yesterday and their inclosures; to which due attention shall be paid.

[30] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The draft is in the writing of Harrison and Washington and, in addition to the variations noted above, that part of the draft which is in Washington's writing is inclosed in brackets.

[31] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

The Enemy seem now to be straining every nerve to accomplish their purpose; but I trust, whatever present success they may have, they will ere long experience a reverse of fortune. If they have four thousand Men in the Jersies, it is probable they have something more serious in view than a mere diversion. But I am in hopes when Genl McDougall comes to unite his force with the Militia, General Dickenson will be strong enough effectually to make head against them.

Yesterday the Enemy moved past Concord by the Edgemont towards the Lancaster Road, with evident design to gain our right flank. This obliged us to alter our position and march to this place, from whence we intend immediately to proceed to Warwick. We suffered much, from the severe weather yesterday and last night, being separated from our tents and baggage, which not only endangers the health of the Men, but has been very injurious to our Arms and ammunition. These, when we arrive at Warwick, we shall endeavour, as soon as possible, to put again into a proper condition; to do which and to refresh the Men are two principal motives for going there. I have the honor &ca.[32]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Yellow Springs, September 17, 1777.

Sir: Upon examining the State of our Ammunition, I find it so generally hurt by the Rain, that we are not in Condition to make a stand against the Enemy. I have therefore thought best to move up towards Warwick Furnace, in order to obtain a Supply from the other side Schuylkill, and have given orders accordingly. Genl. Greene's Division remains here and Genl. Wayne's between this and Warwick until the baggage can be got off. I would have you remain where you are until that part of the baggage and Stores at the Valley can be got away, which

[32] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

I wish to be effected as expeditiously as possible, and then join us, at Warwick by the shortest Route. General Potter had best remain with you. Should you want Horses for the removal of the Baggage, you will be under the necessity of pressing them.

As I dont wish you to remain, a moment longer than is necessary for covering the baggage, you will take care to be informed of it as soon as it happens, by sending an Officer for that purpose. I am &ca.[33]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Camp, September 17, 1777.

Sir: As it may be dangerous for the Troops under your command to act alone, and the Service may be more advanced by drawing our whole Force together, I earnestly request, that you will form a junction with the main Army, as soon as you possibly can. We shall be at Warwick Furnace, on French Creek to morrow Evening. The Enemy are now posted near the White House Tavern, on the Road leading from Lancaster to Philadelphia. I cannot mark out any particular Route for you, as that will depend upon the situation of the Enemy, of which you will obtain the best information in your power, that you may be secure in your Line of March. There is one Futhay, about Two Miles this side Cockran's, who is said to be a trusty person and acquainted with the Country. I must once more urge the necessity of the utmost expedition. I am etc.[34]

To JOSEPH JONES

Yellow Springs, September 17, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have been favored with yours of the 14th. I do not wish to sell my phaeton, but shall be happy if you will take

[33] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.
[34] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

and use it 'till I shall have occasion for it. This I request you to do, as you will thereby accomodate yourself and serve me at the same time.[35]

To MAJOR GENERAL THOMAS MIFFLIN

Yellow Springs, September 17, 1777.

Sir: I desire you will immediately move the baggage and Ammunition from the place where you are at present, to Warwick Furnace. Colo. Evans,[36] the bearer of this, is kind enough to undertake to pilot you by the safest and best Route. No time is to be lost in the execution of this business and I think if you were to impress a few Waggons and lighten the others of part of their loads, it would be better as the Roads are so exceedingly bad. The baggage and Ammunition that is at present at Perkioming is to move up to Pottsgrove. I am &ca.[37]

To COLONEL WILLIAM MALCOM[38]

Camp at Yellow Springs in Pennsylvania,
September 17, 1777.

Sir: I have been favoured with your Two Letters of the 13th. and 14th. Instt. At present, the situation of our Affairs will not justify any of the Independent Companies being attached to your Regiment, whatever may be the case in future; And having regard to the public interest and knowing the small prospect there is of raising of men at this Crisis, I do not think myself authorized to commission either of the Gentlemen you mention, as it would be multiplying the number of Officers and incurring an additional expence, with but a very remote, if any, probability of augmenting our Force.

[35] The text is from a copy in the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress.
[36] Col. George Evans, of the Delaware Militia.
[37] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[38] Of one of the Additional Continental regiments.

I think with you, that it will be necessary that some Troops should winter where you propose, but the number, I cannot now determine on; However, I would wish you to pay attention to the Barracks and direct the earliest repair of them to be made. As to laying up Magazines of provision and Forage, I shall speak to the Gentlemen under whose notice these matters more properly fall.

I have nothing more to add, than my wishes, that your utmost exertions may be employed to counteract and defeat the progress of the Enemy now in Jersey, as far as 'tis in your power, having special regard to the Security of the pass leading thro' the Mountains to the Highland Fortifications. I cannot prescribe any particular line of conduct for you upon this occasion; but shall leave you to act in such a way, as shall seem best calculated to annoy the Enemy, and advance the public Service. I am etc.[39]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at Yellow Spring, September 17, 1777.

Parole Connecticut. Countersigns Fairfield, Fairfax.

The commanding officers of brigades are immediately to dispatch two or three careful officers who are best mounted, into the rear of the line of march yesterday, as far back as General Maxwell's quarters, where the army last drew up, to examine all houses, barns and huts on the way, and collect and bring on all stragglers from the army. The Brigadiers and other officers are immediately to examine the arms and ammunition of their men; and spare no pains to preserve such ammunition as is not already damaged, and to put the arms in the best order possible—such as are loaded to be drawn, if practicable; if they cannot be drawn they are to remain loaded; for not one

[39] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

gun is to be fired in order to clean it. The General desires the officers to pay the most particular attention to these orders, as not only their own safety, but the salvation of their country may depend thereon; such ammunition as is damaged is likewise to be carefully saved, to be returned to the park of artillery, the first convenient time. To this point also the officers will now, and at all times pay attention as the lead is of vast importance to us.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE

Reading furnace, September 18, 1777.

Sir: As I have receiv'd Information that the Enemy have turn'd down that Road from the White Horse which leads to Swedes Ford on Schuylkill I have to desire that you will Halt your Troops wherever this Meets you if coming this way and set them to cleaning their Arms drawing Ammunition and Cooking Provisions.

I must call your utmost Exertion in fitting yourselves in the best manner you can for following and Harrassing their Rear. Genl. Maxwell will have a Similar Order and will Assist you with the Corps under his command.

The Army here is so much fatigued that it is impossible I should move them this Afternoon. I shall expect by return of the light Horse Man to know where you are and when it will be in power to Comply with this Order. I am, etc. [H.S.P.]

*To BRIGADIER GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE

Readg. Furnace, 6 OClock PM., [September 18] 1777.

Dr. Sir: I have this Instt. recd. yours of ½ after 3 Oclock; having wrote twice to you already to move forward upon the

Enemy, I have but little to add. Genl. Maxwell and Potter are order'd to do the same (being at Potts' Forge), I could wish you and those Genl. would act in conjunction, to make your advances more formidable but I would not have too much time delayed on this acct. I shall follow as speedily as possible with jaded men. some may probably go up immediately, if I find they are in a condition for it. The horse are almost all out upon the Patrole. Cartridges have been orderd for you, give me the earliest Information of every thing Interesting and of your moves that I may know how to govern mine by them; the cutting of the Enemys Baggage would be a great matter; but take care of Ambuscades. Yrs. Sincerely. [H.S.P.]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Reading Furnace, September 18, 1777.

Sir: Your favor of the 17th I had the Honor to receive last night with Govr. Livingston's and Genl Dickenson's Letters. It is out of my power, to do more than I already have, for checking the Enemy's progress in Jersey, and I should hope, that will be the case, as soon as the Troops ordered from Peekskill, arrive to reinforce the Militia assembling under Genl. Dickenson. I observe that all the Continental Stores, which have been removed from Philadelphia were at Trenton, on the 16th, according to Genl. Dickenson's Letter. That place, in the first instance, was fixed on thro' necessity, and conveying them there was better than to have them where they were; But I am clear in Opinion, that they should not be suffered to remain there a Moment longer than can be avoided, and I would beg leave to recommend, that the earliest and most vigorous measures should be adopted for removing them to Allen Town in North Hampton County.

From the advices received yesterday evening and last Night, It appeared that the Enemy were pushing a considerable force

to the White Horse Tavern, with a view, it was supposed to fall on our right Flank. This induced us to proceed this Morning to this place, where we are cleaning our Arms with the utmost assiduity and replacing our Cartridges, which unfortunately were mostly spoiled by the heavy Rain on Tuesday. By some of our Light Horsemen, this moment come in, It is said, the Enemy are advancing on the Road towards Sweedes Ford: As soon as possible, the Troops will be put in motion, but I am doubtful, Whether that can be done before to Morrow Morning for want of Provisions, which has impeded our Movements very considerably, since we passed Schuylkill last. I have the Honor &c.[40]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

September 19, 1777.

Sir: I was honored, this Morning, with your favors of the 17th and 18th with their Inclosures. I am much obliged to Congress for the late instance of their Confidence, expressed in their Resolution of the 17th, and shall be happy, if my conduct in discharging the objects they had in view, should be such, as to meet their approbation.[41]

I am now repassing the Schuylkill at Parker's Ford, with the Main body of the Army, which will be over in an hour or Two,

[40] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[41] The necessity of a speedy removal of Congress from Philadelphia, and the uncertainty as to the time of the next meeting, moved Congress to confer powers upon Washington which practically made him a dictator: "Resolved, That General Washington be authorized and directed to suspend all officers who shall misbehave, and to fill up all vacancies in the American army, under the rank of brigadiers, until the pleasure of Congress shall be communicated; to take, wherever he may be, all such provisions and other articles as may be necessary for the comfortable subsistence of the army under his command, paying or giving certificates for the same; to remove and secure, for the benefit of the owners, all goods and effects, which may be serviceable to the enemy; provided, that the powers hereby vested shall be exercised only in such parts of these states as may be within the circumference of 70 miles of the head quarters of the American army, and shall continue in force for the space of 60 days, unless sooner revoked by Congress." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Sept. 17, 1777.)

tho' the water is deep and rapid.[42] Genl Wayne, with the Division under his Command, is on the rear of the Enemy, and will be joined to morrow or next day, I expect, by Genl Smallwood and Colo. Gist with their Corps.[43] As soon as the Troops have crossed the River, I shall march them, as expeditiously as possible, towards Fatland, Swedes and the other Fords, where it is most probable the Enemy will attempt to pass.

When I left Germantown with the Army, I hoped I should have had an opportunity of attacking them, either in Front or on their Flank, with a prospect of Success; But unhappily a variety of Causes concurred to prevent it. Our March, in the first place, was greatly impeded thro' want of Provisions, which delayed us so long that the Enemy were apprized of our Motions, and gained the Grounds near the White Horse Tavern, with a part of their Army turning our right flank, whilst another part, composing the Main Body, were more advanced towards our left. We should have disappointed them in their design by getting on their left; But the Heavy rain which fell that [on Tuesday] evening and in the course of the night, totally unfitted our Guns for Service and nearly the whole of the Ammunition with which the Army had been compleated a day or two before, amounting to Forty Rounds per Man. At first I expected that the loss was by no means so considerable, and intended [only] to file off with the Troops a few Miles to replace it and clean their Arms and then to proceed on my Original

[42] "His Excellency General Washington was with the troops who passed us here to the Perkiomen. The procession lasted the whole night, and we had all kinds of visits from officers wet to the breast, who had to march in that condition the cold, damp night through, and to bear hunger and thirst at the same time. This robs them of courage and health, and instead of prayers we hear from most, the national evil, curses."—*Muhlenberg's Diary,* Sept. 19, 1777.

[43] On September 19 Wayne was at Paoli and wrote Washington that he was near the enemy, who were unaware of his position. Smallwood wrote, this same day, giving the route of his march to join Washington. With Colonel Gist's troops he was near James Milligan's tavern on the 19th.

plans; but upon examination, found it as I have mentioned, and that we had not a sufficient supply with us to furnish the Men with the necessary Complement. In this Situation it was judged necessary, that we should proceed as far as Reading Furnace for the security of the Army. Owing to these accidents, particularly the latter, matters have not been conducted as I intended and wished, and the Enemy have had an opportunity of making their advances without being attacked. I yet hope, from the present state of the River, that I shall be down in time to give them a meeting and if unfortunately they should gain Philadelphia, that it will not be without loss. I have the honor &ca.

N. B. The Main body of the Enemy afterwards moved towards the White Horse and took their Rout down the Road from thence. I should have advised you this Morning by Express of the Enemy's advance and situation, had not Colo. Hamilton informed me that he had written you on the Subject.[44]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL

September 19, 1777.

Dr. Sir: The exigency of our affairs make it necessary, you should use all the diligence and dispatch in your power to join this army with the troops under your command. The enemy are making the most vigorous efforts to succeed in their attempt upon Philadel: and it will require our utmost exertions to disappoint them. We shall this day cross the Schulkill at Parkers ford about thirty miles from Philadelphia. The most convenient place for you to cross the Delaware in the present

[44] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The text of the letter sent was kindly furnished by F. H. Sweet, of Battle Creek, Mich. The words within the brackets are in the draft, but not in the letter sent. The N. B. is not in the draft.

situation of things is Coryels ferry; but you will govern yourself in this according to circumstances. I am, etc.[45]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Reading Furnace, 6 oclock P. M., September 19, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have this instant received yours of half past 3 Oclock, A. M. Having written to you already to *move forward* upon the enemy, I have but little to add. Generals Maxwell and Potter are ordered to do the same, being at Potts' forge. I could wish you and those Generals to act in conjunction, to make your advance more formidable but I would not have too much time delayed on this account. I shall follow as speedily as possible with jaded men, some may probably go off immediately, if I find they are in condition for it. The Horse are almost all out upon the patrol. Cartridges have been ordered for you. Give me the earliest information of every thing interesting, and of your moves, that I may know how to govern mine by them. The cutting off the enemys baggage would be a great matter. Yours etc.[46]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

September [19?], 1777.

Dr. Sir: Your favor of the 12th Instt. was delivered me last night. I recollect, that permission was granted Mrs. Hatfield[47] to visit her Husband, and had not the least doubt but she would be suffered to return, whenever she had an inclination; unless

[45] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The editor is indebted to Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach for the text of this letter.

[46] The text is from Rupp's *History of Berks and Lebanon Counties*, p. 193.

[47] Wife of Maj. Moses Hatfield, of Drake's New York Militia regiment. Major Hatfield had been taken prisoner at Montresors Island; was exchanged in 1778; served as a colonel of New York Militia, 1780 and 1781.

some singular circumstances Should render it ineligible for a day or two. her detention seems to be by the Mayor, to whom she was referred for a passport. As Mrs. Hatfield is not of the Military line, and went in of her mere motion, I do not conceive, that I can with propriety do any thing to obtain her releasement. But I am persuaded your Letter to General Clinton representing the reasons for her going in, will effect it without difficulty. It would be well to write her a line to apply to him upon the Subject.

I have not time to add much on public Affairs. I am now about twenty five Miles from Philadelphia on the East Side of Schuylkill, with the Main Body of our Army, fronting the Enemy, who are on the opposite Side. We have also a Body of Troops hanging on their rear, under the Command of Genls. Smallwood and Wayne. I suppose Genl Howe will soon attempt to pass the Schuylkill, which unhappily admits of but too many easy fords. I cannot give you the particulars of the Action of the 11th. From the best Accounts I have been able to collect, their loss was pretty considerable and chiefly fell on their Grenadiers and light Troops, composing their flying Army; The Queens Rangers (Rogers's Corps), who formed their advanced Guard, and who were first attacked in the Morning, are said to have Suffered severely. This Account I mean for yourself and not for the Public. I am etc.[48]

*To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Camp near Fatland Ford, September 20, 1777.

Dr. Sir: In answer to your favr., and request of yesterday, I wish it was in my power to give you the compleat satisfaction you desire, but how is it possible? I saw nothing of the

[48]The text is from the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

disposition you had made, not getting up till the action was, in a manner over; and then, employed in hurrying on a reinforcement, and looking out fresh ground to form the Troops on, which, by this time, were beginning to give way.

To certifie what I have heard this, or that Officer say, respecting your conduct, could answer no valuable purpose, nor the end you have in view. Some have condemn'd your disposition tho' time perhaps wd. not allow a better but none have accused you of want of bravery, and exertion, that I have heard of. I am, etc. [N.H.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Near Fatland Ford, September 20, 1777.

Dear Sir: As it seems most probable to me that the Enemy will ford the River upon our Right, I desire you will immediately send parties to break up and throw Obstructions in the landing places of all the Fords from Richardsons at least as high as Parkers where we crossed yesterday. Advise the officers who superintend, not to neglect such as the Country people tell them are difficult, because at such places the Enemy will be most likely to pass, thinking we shall pay least attention to them. Let a Subaltern and twelve Men constantly remain at each of Fords to give Notice of the approach of the Enemy, and besides these keep a small party or two under proper Officers upon the left Wing of the Enemy, to see that they do not steal a march upon our right. Any other precautions that seem, in your opinion, best calculated to prevent a surprise you will please to put in practice. I am, etc.

P. S. Colo. Moylan will keep parties of Horse constantly over the River.[49] [N.H.H.S.]

[49] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, September 20, 1777.

Parole Cambridge. Countersigns Roxbury, Watertown.

It is with the utmost concern, that the General observes, a continual straggling of soldiers on a march, who rob orchards and commit other disorders; and that many officers pay little or no attention to prevent a practice attended with such mischevious consequences, notwithstanding the orders relative thereto. The officers are reminded that it is their duty, and the General expects, that for the future, they know precisely, the number of men in their division or platoon; and where the time will admit of it, take a list of their names, previous to their marching; and that on a march they frequently look at their division to see if it be in order, and no man missing.

The General has reason to think that many officers neglect to call the rolls of their companies daily, agreeably to former orders, and that many cannot properly account for their absent men. This is a neglect of the most dangerous tendency, and if continued, the army will soon be greatly reduced. The General therefore calls upon all officers, in the most pressing manner, as they regard their duty, and the salvation of their country, to have the rolls called night and morning, and pay the most unremitting attention to prevent a loss of their men.

The General is informed, that vast numbers of men are sent off as guards to the baggage. The Brigadiers and officers commanding brigades are without delay to send proper officers to Reading, or wherever the baggage may be, to reduce those guards and bring with the greatest dispatch to the army, the greater part of them, and those the best men, with the best arms, leaving only so many officers and men as are absolutely necessary to guard the baggage. Col. Polk who commands these

guards will see that as few officers and men as possible are left with the baggage; some officers are also to be sent immediately to Philadelphia to bring away all soldiers which shall be found there.

The officers are also to see, that all soldiers who wait on officers, be armed, and do the duty of soldiers on any emergency, particularly that the fire of so many men be not lost in a day of action.

The waggons are to be kept ready to move on the shortest notice.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, September 21, 1777.

Parole Georgia. Countersigns Grafton, Goshen.

The Honorable Congress have been pleased to appoint, The Count Pulaski, to chief command of the American light dragoons, with the rank of Brigadier General.

Some diligent officers of each brigade are to be sent immediately to all the houses within four or five miles of the camp, to find and bring all stragglers to their respective corps. the Brigadiers will see this done.

The Major Generals and Brigadiers will see that their commissaries make competent provision for supplying the troops. One person in the issuing Commissary General's department is without fail to call daily at Head Quarters to report the state of provisions, and receive orders.

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, September 21, 1777.

Sir: Your Favor of this date was received this Evening, and agreeable to your request have sent Doctor Wilson[50] to take charge of the Wounded Officers and Men of the Army under

[50] Dr. Lewis Wilson, surgeon's mate, Continental Hospital. He became surgeon in June, 1779, and served to October, 1780.

my command who have fallen into your hands at Howel's Tavern and the Neighbouring Houses. The Doctor has directions to give a receipt for all that are delivered him, and they will be considered as your Prisoners. I am &ca.[51]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters Thompson's Tavern,
Sunday Eveng. 8 OClock, [September 21, 1777].

Sir: By order of his Excellency I have to Inform you that this Army is about to March up the Road by which we came down and is not to Halt untill we get beyond that Road which leads from Parkers Ford into the Reading Road, beyond the Trapp. It is the Generals desire that you move on with your Division so as to be nearly on a Line between us and the Schuylkill, leaving a small Pickett at each Fording Place as a party of Observation. Generals Maxwell and Potter are to March up and Join you. I am, etc.

PS. Before you leave your Encampment you will please make large Fires so that your March may be unexpected. You will also please give Notice to Colo. Moylan that he may move in Concert.

Since writing the within his Excellency desires me to mention to you, that you Order Major Jamison with a party of 12 or 15 Horse to Philada. very early in the Morng., then to enquire for Colo. Hamilton and give him what assistance he can on a Matter about which he is gone.[52]

Colo. Hamilton will be found at the City Tavern. I am etc.[53]

---

[51] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[52] To collect blankets for the army. (See Instructions to Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton, Sept. 22, 1777, *post*.)

[53] In the writing of and signed by John Fitzgerald.

On September 23 Tench Tilghman wrote to General McDougall to hasten his troops to the army. The river was now fordable at almost any place. Washington would have written, but was busy arranging the encampment of the troops which arrived within about 4 miles of Pottsgrove on September 21.

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Camp 28 Miles from Philadelphia
on the Reading Road, September 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 21st. and am happy to find that you are on the point of marching to the reinforcement of this Army. To quiet the Alarms and fears of the people upon the Sound, I would recommend it to you to pick one thousand or Twelve hundred of your best Militia and let the remainder return. If you come with them yourself, I beg you may march with all possible expedition to form a junction with this Army, which (from present circumstances) I imagine will be in the Neighbourhood of Pottsgrove. I need not tell you that I wish you to come with this detachment, but if the Service requires your stay in Jersey, you will be pleased to empress the necessity of a speedy junction upon the Officer who Commands. The Route over Coryells Ferry and across the Country will be the shortest. An Officer should be always kept ahead to gain intelligence of the Situation of the Enemy lest they should fall suddenly in with them. The same Officer may inquire where our Army lays, that no unnecessary Ground may be gone over. I am &ca.

P. S. The Van of the Enemy is about French Creek upon the West side of Schuylkill.[54]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL

September 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: I wrote you on Friday last, requesting your earliest arrival with the Troops under your Command, to join this

[54] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Army. This I must repeat, and have sent an Officer on purpose to deliver my Letter, to whom I refer you for the particulars of our situation and that of the Enemy at this Time. I shall only observe respecting them, that the main body of their Army lay last night near French Creek bridge about Four Miles from Schuylkill on the West Side. Their unvaried object has been and it seems still to be pursued, to get above us, and turn on our right Flank. We are on the East side the River and advance as they do, on the Common Road from Philadelphia, to Reading, Twenty Eight Miles from the former. From the present complexion of affairs, you should proceed on the most direct Route leading to Potts Grove about 9 Miles above this place; But I wish you as soon as you approach the Delaware to advise me by Express, still continuing the Route I have mentioned, till you hear from me in answer to your Letter, when you will be directed to proceed as circumstances require. I shall not add more, than to urge your unremitted diligence to join me, as early as possible, assuring you, that your aid is extremely wanted and cannot arrive too soon. You will write me a line by the return of the Officer. I am etc.[55]

To COLONEL GEORGE GIBSON

Camp on the Reading Road,
28 Miles from Philada., September 22, 1777.

Sir: I wrote to you about ten days ago, directing you to join this Army with the utmost expedition. But our Situation has been so much changed by a variety of circumstances since that time, that I think it proper to inform you that we are at present here and are moving up the Country towards Reading, as the Enemy are moving that way upon the West side of Schuylkill.

[55] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

I would recommend it to you to march across the Country from Lancaster to Reading, and if you find the way clear, cross Schuylkill at that place and form a junction with me as speedily as possible. Lest you should be deceived by reports of the Situation of the Enemy, I would advise you always to keep an intelligent Officer ahead, not only to find out where they are, but also where our Army is. You may by these means save much needless marching. Let me know as soon as possible where you are. I have only to press you to delay no time in coming on, and to assure you, I am, etc.[56]

INSTRUCTIONS TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL ALEXANDER HAMILTON

September 22, 1777.

Sir: The distressed situation of the Army for want of blankets and many necessary articles of Clothing, is truly deplorable; and must inevitably be destructive to it, unless a speedy remedy be applied. Without a better supply than they at present have, it will be impossible for the Men to support the fatigues of the campaign in the further progress of the approaching inclement season. This you well know to be a Melancholy truth. It is equally the dictate of common sense and the opinion of the Physicians of the Army, as well as of every Officer in it. No supply can be drawn from the public Magazines. We have therefore no resource but from the private stock of individuals. I feel, and I lament, the absolute necessity of requiring the inhabitants to contribute to those wants which we have no other means of satisfying, and which, if unremoved, would involve the ruin of the Army, and perhaps the ruin of America. Painful as it is to me to order and as it will be to you to execute the measure, I am compelled to desire you immediately to proceed

[56] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

to Philadelphia, and there procure from the inhabitants, contributions of blankets and Clothing and materials to answer the purposes of both, in proportion to the ability of each. This you will do, with as much delicacy and discretion, as the nature of the business demands, and I trust the necessity will justify the proceeding in the Eyes of every person well affected to the American cause; and that all good citizens will chearfully afford their assistance to Soldiers, whose sufferings they are bound to commiserate, and who are eminently exposed to danger and distress, in defence of every thing they ought to hold dear.

As there are also a number of Horses in Philadelphia both of public and private property, which would be a valuable acquisition to the enemy, should the City by any accident fall into their hands. You are hereby authorized and commanded to remove them thence into the Country to some place of greater security and more remote from the operations of the Enemy.

You will stand in need of assistance from others, to execute this commission with dispatch and propriety, and you are therefore empowered to employ such persons, as you shall think proper, to aid you therein. I am &ca.[57]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Camp on Reading Road,
28 Miles from Philada., September 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have ordered eight or ten Light Horse more to your assistance, and if you should find a further force necessary to facilitate the business you are upon, there are fifty or Sixty dismounted N. Carolinians attached at present to Colo. Nicholas Corps. They must be subject to your order. I have been just now informed, that there are not less than three thousand

[57] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

pair of Shoes in the hands of three or four Persons in Philadelphia, a Peter January himself is said to have 1400 pair. You will make the most diligent inquiry upon this Head. You know our distresses and will collect every pair you possibly can. I refer you to Mr. Mease for proper information, being told that he knows where they are. I do not wish your exertions to be solely directed to obtaining Shoes and Blankets, extend them to every other article, you know to be material for the Army; Your own prudence will point out the least exceptionable means to be pursued in these instances, but remember, that delicacy and a strict adherence to the ordinary modes of application must give place to our necessities. We must, if possible, accommodate the Soldiery with such Articles as they stand in need of, or we shall have just Reasons to apprehend the most injurious and alarming consequences from the approaching season. As fast as you collect Shoes and Blankets you will send them off by some interior middle road, that they may be secure, with peremptory orders, to those who shall have them in charge, not to delay a moment in getting them to the Army. The business you are upon I know is disagreeable, and perhaps in the execution, you may meet with more obstacles than were at first apprehended, and also with opposition to the parties I have mentioned; call in such a number of Militia as you may think necessary, observing however over the conduct of the whole, a strict discipline, to prevent every Species of rapine and disorder. If Mr. Mease has any under Jackets and Stockings, he should order a supply to be forwarded to the Army as soon as possible. This you will tell him. I am etc.

P. S. I doubt not but Mr. Mease has removed all the Clothing 'ere this, but you'll mention the propriety of doing it immediately, in case of accidents.[58]

[58] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, September 22, 1777.

Parole Watchfulness. Countersigns Caution, Security.

The Clothier General is immediately to distribute all the cloaths and shoes in his possession.

The army is to march by the right in small divisions or platoons, in this order; first Genl. Sullivan's division, then Lord Stirling's, then the park of artillery, then Genl Nash's brigade, then Genl Stephen's division, then Genl. Greene's; the officers of all ranks are to march in their proper places, and keep their divisions, brigades, regiments and platoons in the most exact order and especially not to suffer a man to quit his place without leave, and that to be granted only, in case of absolute necessity, and then a serjeant is to be left with him to bring him on. There are to be proper guards advanced in front and on the left flank of the army.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Camp, near Potsgrove,
September 23, 1777.

Parole Bethlehem. Countersigns Chatham, Dedham.

The General expects the returns of the army to morrow morning without fail, and enjoins it upon the commanding officers of corps to see that they are exactly made.

Each regiment is to proceed in making cartridges for its own use, that they may be held in store. Genl. Knox will furnish them with materials.

It is expected, as the weather is now growing cool, that the troops will never have less, than two day's provision by them. The necessity of this, the General does, in the strongest manner

impress, upon the officers, in hopes they will exert themselves in seeing it executed, as the soldiers, or the service must greatly suffer, unless this is well attended to.

The General is informed that the Tin-Cannisters which were served out for the purpose of carrying ammunition, are in some instances applied to other uses; He therefore positively forbids such practices.

James Lloyd Esqr. is appointed a Volunteer Aid-de-Camp to Major Genl. Greene and to be respected accordingly.

The sick in Camp, are to be sent immediately, to the artillery park, or house or barn nearest thereto, that the Surgeons may send them in waggons to Reading. A careful subaltern Officer from each division is to go with them. If so many officers are not necessary, the Surgeon General will dismiss a part of them. Each man is to take one day's provision with him.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE

Camp, Forkners Swamp, about 4 Miles
from Pots Grove, September 23, 1777.

Dr. Sir: I received your favor of Yesterday morning and am apprehensive as you have not acknowledged the receipt of a Letter, I wrote you the Night before that It has fallen into the Enemy's hands. By that, I directed Genl. Smallwood and yourself to march immediately with your Respective Corps by the way of Pots Grove to join me. You will both pursue the Line thereby marked out and which I have mentioned above. For it is my wish, that we should draw our Whole force together, as soon as possible and that I should be immediately joined by your Corps. Should we continue detached and in a divided State, I fear, we shall neither be able to attack, or defend ourselves with a good prospect of Success. I am, etc.[59] [H.S.P.]

[59] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, Tuesday Evening,
September 23, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have just received your Letter requesting a Court of Enquiry to morrow or next day which I most readily agree to provided the Situation of the Army renders it practicable, but this I much doubt as I think it highly probable we shall March some distance to morrow. I am, etc.[60] [N.H.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Camp on Schuylkill, 34 Miles from Philadelphia,
September 23, 1777.

Dear Sir: The situation of our affairs in this Quarter calls for every aid, and for every effort. Genl. Howe, by various Manœuvres and marching high up the Schuylkill, as if he meant to turn our Right Flank, found means by countermarching to pass the River, several Miles below us last night, which is fordable almost in every part, and is now fast advancing towards Philadelphia. I therefore desire, that without a moments loss of time you will detach as many effective rank and file, under proper Generals and other Officers, as will make the whole number, including those with Genl. McDougall, amount to Twenty five Hundred privates and Non Commissioned fit for duty. The Corps under Genl. McDougall, to my great surprise, by a Letter from him some days ago, consisted only of Nine Hundred and Eleven. You will direct the officers commanding the Detachment now ordered, to proceed as expeditiously as they can to reinforce me. The Route thro' Morris Town and over Coryell's Ferry will be the best for them to pursue. Before

[60] In the writing of John Fitzgerald.

they arrive at the Ferry, they will hear where I am, but that they may know their destination, when they are in two days march of it, they are to advise me by express, and I will write on the Subject. I must urge you, by every motive, to send on this Detachment without the least possible delay. No considerations are to prevent it. It is our first object to defeat, if possible, the Army now opposed to us here. That the passes in the Highlands may be perfectly secure, you will immediately call in all your Forces now on command at outposts. You must not think of covering a whole Country by dividing them; and when they are ordered in and drawn together, they will be fully competent to repel any attempt that can be made by the Enemy from below in their present situation. Besides, if you are threatned with an attack, you must get what aid you can from the Militia. The detachment will bring their baggage, but I wish them to come with no more than will be absolutely necessary. That you may not hesitate about complying with this order, you are to consider it as peremptory and not to be dispensed with.[61] Colo. Malcom's Regiment will form a part of the Detachment. I am etc.

P. S. The Troops now ordered need not bring any Artillery.[62]

To COLONEL MATTHEW POLLOCK

Camp near Pottsgrove, September 23, 1777.

Sir: You are hereby directed to proceed immediately to Bethlehem with the heavy Baggage of the Army; upon your arrival there you are to take a convenient Building and unload and

[61] The peremptoriness of this order may have been due to Putnam's plan to attack simultaneously Staten Island, Powles Hook, York Island, and Long Island "for by information from one quarter and another I have gained knowledge of their Strength, very nearly, at their different posts, and that an enterprize of that kind might be undertaken with good prospects of Success." (See Putnam's letter to Washington, Sept. 13, 1777, in the *Washington Papers*.)

[62] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

store the Baggage, in order that the Waggons may return under the conduct of the Waggon Master General or one of his deputies. You are to remain yourself, with a Guard of 200 Men, consisting of such as may be at the time most fatigued and unfit for duty. The remainder to be sent to Camp under charge of their officers with positive directions not to suffer them to straggle upon the march. Make me a return of the number that you send back, that I may make the Officer accountable for them. In storing the Baggage, let care be taken not to mix that of the different Brigades together. I am &ca.[63]

To COLONEL JOSEPH THORNBURY[64]

Camp near Potts grove, September 23, 1777.

Sir: I have directed Colo. Pollock to proceed to Bethlehem with the heavy Baggage of the Army, there to have it stored that the Waggons may return. You will therefore either proceed Yourself to see this business executed or send one of your deputies on whom you can depend. But as your presence in the Army is essentially necessary to regulate your Department, I think you had better send one of your deputies. I am &ca.[65]

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD[66]

Camp at Potts Grove, September 23, 1777.

Sir: The Enemy have crossed the Schuylkill before the Army and are now on their March for the City of Philadelphia. I think it of the greatest Importance that the Fort upon the Island should be Garrison'd, If we can stop the Enemy's Fleet from coming up and prevent them from getting possession

[63] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[64] Wagonmaster General of the Continental Army.
[65] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[66] Commodore of the Pennsylvania State Navy.

of the Mud fort, and they take possession of the City and our Army moves down upon the back of it, it will be the most effectual method of ruining General Howe's Army, that ever Fortune favoured us with. I could wish you to take out of the Ships and the Row Gallies, two or three hundred Men and Garrison the Fort with them until I can relieve them with some Continental Troops which I design as soon as possible. You will lay the Gallies round the Fort in such a manner, as will prevent the Enemy from landing Men upon the Island. If you think it necessary, for the security of the Fort, to lay the Island under Water, let it be done immediately. I hope you'll exert Yourself and all the Officers under your Command, as far as possible, to secure the Fort, and prevent the Enemy's Fleet from coming up. Let us join our Force and operations both by land and Water in such a manner, as will most effectually Work the Ruin of the Common Enemy, without confining ourselves to any particular Department. There is one thing further I would recommend, which is, that you should have all the Boats immediately collected from the City, and above and below it on both sides the River and taken under the care of your Fleet. This will prevent the Enemy from the means of making an attempt on the Fort, and also all intercourse with Jersey for obtaining Supplies of Provision. I am etc.[67]

To BARON D'ARENDT

Camp, September 23, 1777.

Sir: It is of the utmost importance to prevent the Enemy's land Forces and Fleet from forming a junction, which it is almost morally certain they will attempt, by seizing on Fort Island below Philadelphia, if it is possible, and thereby gain

[67] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald. It is indorsed by Washington: "Copy of Verbal Instructions sent Commodore Hazzlewd. by Captn. Treat."

the Navigation of the Delaware by weighing and removing the Chevaux Defrize, which have been sunk for that purpose. This post (Fort Island), if maintained, will be of the last consequence, and will effectually hinder them from union. I therefore appoint you to the command of it, and desire that you will repair thither immediately. The defence is extremely interesting to the United States, and I am hopeful will be attended with much honour to yourself and advantages to them. There are Troops there now, and a Detachment to reinforce them will immediately march from this Army. I have nothing further to add, than my wishes for your success and to assure you, that I am etc.[68]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp near Potts Grove, September 23, 1777.

Sir: I have not had the honor of addressing you since your adjournment to Lancaster[69] and I sincerely wish that my first letter was upon a more agreeable subject. The Enemy, by a variety of perplexing Manœuvres thro' a Country from which I could not derive the least intelligence, being to a man disaffected, contrived to pass the Schuylkill last Night at the Fatland and other Fords in the Neighbourhood of it. They marched immediately towards Philadelphia and I imagine their advanced parties will be near that City to Night. They had so far got the Start before I recd. certain intelligence that any considerable Number had crossed, that I found it in vain to think of

[68] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[69] After Congress adjourned on September 18 "the president received a letter from Colonel Hamilton, one of General Washington's aids, which intimated the necessity of Congress removing immediately from Philadelphia; Whereupon, the members left the city, and, agreeable to the resolve of the 14 repaired to Lancaster." On September 27 Congress convened at Lancaster and that same day "Adjourned to Yorktown, there to meet on Tuesday next, at 10 o'Clock." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress.*) At York, beyond the Susquehanna, they met on the 30th, and continued their sessions there till the British evacuated Philadelphia, June 18, 1778.

overtaking their Rear with Troops harrassed as ours had been with constant marching since the Battle of Brandywine, and therefore concluded, by the advice of all the General Officers to march from this place to morrow Morning towards Philadelphia, and on the way endeavour to form a junction with the Continental Troops under Genl. McDougall from Peekskill, and the Jersey Militia under General Dickinson, both of whom are I hope on this Side the Delaware.[70] I am also obliged to wait for Genl. Wayne and Genl. Smallwood who were left on the other Side of Schuylkill in hopes of falling upon the Enemy's Rear, but they have eluded them as well as us.

When I last recrossed the Schuylkill, it was with a firm intent of giving the Enemy Battle, wherever I should meet them and accordingly advanced as far as the Warren Tavern upon the Lancaster Road, near which place the two Armies were upon the point of coming to a general Engagement but were prevented by a most violent Flood of Rain, which continued all the day and the following Night. When it held up, we had the Mortification to find that our Ammunition, which had been compleated to Forty Rounds a Man, was intirely ruined, and in that Situation we had nothing left for it, but to find out a Strong piece of Ground which we could easily maintain till we could get the Arms put into order and a Recruit of Ammunition. Before this could be fully effected, the Enemy marched from their position near the White Horse Tavern down the Road leading to the Swedes Ford. I immediately crossed the Schuylkill above them and threw myself full in their Front, hoping to meet them in their passage or soon after they had passed the River. The day before Yesterday they were again in Motion and marched rapidly up the Road leading towards Reading.

[70] See the proceedings of the Council of War, Sept. 23, 1777, and Washington's letter to Lord Stirling, Sept. 25, 1777, *post*. The Continental Army did not move from Potts Grove until the 26th.

This induced me to beleive that they had two objects in view, one to get round the right of the Army; the other, perhaps to detach parties to Reading, where we had considerable Quantities of military Stores. To frustrate those intentions, I moved the Army up on this side the River to this place, determined to keep pace with them; but early this morning, I received intelligence that they had crossed at the Fords below.[71] Why I did not follow immediately I have mentioned in the former part of my letter. But the strongest Reason against being able to make a forced March is the want of Shoes. Messrs. Carroll, Chase and Penn, who were some days with the Army, can inform Congress, in how deplorable a Situation the Troops are for want of that necessary Article, at least one thousand Men are bare footed and have performed the late Marches in that condition. I was told of a great number of Shoes in the hands of private people in Philadelphia and sent down to secure them, but I doubt the approach of the Enemy will prevent it. I have planned a method, of throwing a Garrison into Fort Mifflin; if it suceeds, and they with the Assistance of the Ships and Gallies, should keep the obstructions in the River, Genl Howe's Situation in Philadelphia will not be the most agreeable; for if his supplies can be stopped by Water, it may be easily done by land. To do both, shall be my utmost endeavour, and I am not yet without hope, that the acquisition of Philadelphia may, instead of his good fortune, prove his Ruin.

Genl St. Clair who has been constantly with the Army for some time past, can give you many pieces of information which may have escaped me, and therefore I refer you to him for many particulars.

[If there are any Shoes and Blankets to be had in Lancaster or that part of the Country I earnestly entreat] you to have

[71]At this point the draft, which is in Tilghman's writing, has "This shew of moving up the day before being only a feint."

them taken up for the use of the Army. I have been informed, that there are large parcels of Shoes, in particular there. Finding that the inclosed came from Colo Gibson, I took the liberty of opening it, as I wanted much to know what Route he was taking. I have ordered all the Virginia Militia who are tolerably armed, to come forward and join the Army; those who have no Arms are to wait at Frederick Town in Maryland, till they hear whether any can be provided for them at Lancaster. You will therefore be pleased to make enquiry what number can be procured there, and send an Express to Frederick with orders for as many men to come forward, as there are Arms. I have the honor etc.[72]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, Camp near Potsgrove,
September 23, 1777.

Sir: You will proceed with the detachment under your command to Dunks's ferry on Delaware, if you find in your progress the way clear and safe. When arrived there you will take the safest and most expeditious method of conducting the detachment to fort Mifflin; by water would be easiest and least fatiguing to your men; and if practicable and safe, will certainly be most eligible; otherwise you will cross the Delaware and march down on the Jersey side to fort Mifflin. In the whole march you will make all possible dispatch, keep your men in the most exact order, suffer no one to straggle, make each officer take a list of his platoon or division, and at the beginning of every march see that every man be present; you will also take every necessary precaution to prevent the enemy's surprising you on your march, by keeping out small van, flank and rear guards, and sentries when you halt.

[72] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets, in Washington's writing, were in Tilghman's draft, but unintentionally omitted by him in copying the letter for Washington's signature.

The keeping of the fort is of very great importance, and I rely strongly on your prudence, spirit and bravery for a vigorous and persevering defence. The Baron Arendt will be appointed to the chief command; and when he arrives, you will give him every aid in your power.

A Commissary must be appointed (if there be not one already) to supply the garrison with provisions. And it may be highly expedient to lay in a stock of salted meat, if to be had, and a quantity of bread, flour and wood for at least one month.

Immediately on your arrival make enquiry of the stock of amunition for musketry as well as artillery, and if either be wanting, lose not a minute's time in getting a supply. Wishing you all desirable success, I remain your, etc.[73]

COUNCIL OF WAR

Camp near Potts Grove, September 23, 1777.

His Excellency informed the General Officers, that the Reason of his calling them together was to acquaint them that the Enemy had, the preceeding night, crossed the Schuylkill by several Fords about twelve Miles below and by the best accounts were proceeding towards Philadelphia. He also informed them, that the Troops under Generals Smallwood and Wayne had not yet rejoined the Army and that a Brigade of Continental Troops under the Command of General McDougall might be expected in a few days from Peekskill and about one thousand Militia from Jersey under General Dickinson in the same time. He therefore desired the opinion of the Council, whether it would be most advisable to advance upon the Enemy with our present force, or wait till the Reinforcements and detachments above mentioned should come in?

Previous to taking the Voices upon the foregoing Question, His Excellency begged leave to inform the Council, of the

[73] The text is from the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

present state of the Army and the Reasons which has induced him to make the late Movements, which (tho' well known to most of them), were not so fully to Major Genl. Armstrong and Brig: Genl. Potter who had been detached from the Main Body of the Army. This being agreed to, His Excellency proceeded to inform the Council: That when the Army left Germantown upon the 15th. instant it was a determination to meet the Enemy and give them Battle whenever a convenient opportunity should be found; that they advanced the same day to the Sign of the Buck and the day following to the Warren Tavern upon the Lancaster Road. On the 17th. in the morning intelligence was brought that the Enemy were advancing, upon which the Army were paraded and a disposition made to receive them, the Pickets had exchanged a few shott when a violent Storm of Rain, which continued all the day and the following Night, prevented all further operations. Upon an examination of the Arms and Ammunition on the 18th: it was found that the former were much impaired and all the latter, that was in Cartouch Boxes, was intirely ruined, wherefore it was judged expedient to with draw the Army to some place of security, until the Arms could be repaired and the Ammunition recruited. Before this could be fully effected, advice was received that the Enemy had quitted their former position near the White Horse Tavern and were marching down the Road leading to the Swedes Ford; but the Army not being in a condition to attack them, owing to the want of Ammunition, it was judged most prudent to cross the River at Parker's Ford and take post in the Rear of the Fatland Ford opposite to the Enemy. In this position the Armies continued for two days when on the 20th: instant that of the Enemy appeared to be in motion, and from our own observation and the accounts of our reconnoitering parties, were marching rapidly up the Reading Road; this induced us to move up likewise, to hinder them from

crossing above us and by getting betwen us and Reading, take an opportunity of destroying a large collection of military Stores deposited there. On the Night of the 20th. the Army decamped and marched up to the Trap and on the 21st. to within four Miles of Potts Grove, the Enemy's Van then being at French Creek upon the West side of Schuylkill. In the Night of the 22d. advice was received that the Enemy had crossed Schuylkill at Gordon's Ford below us, but the account was again contradicted; but in the Morning of the 23d., certain accounts came to hand that they really had crossed in large Numbers and were moving towards Philadelphia. His Excellency further informed the Council that the Troops were in no condition to make a forced March, as many of them were bare-footed and all excessively harrassed with their great Fatigue. The Question being then put, the Council were unanimously of opinion. That, from the present state of the Army it would not be adviseable to advance upon the Enemy, but remain upon this ground or in the Neighbourhood, till the detachments and expected Reinforcements come up.[74]

To LORD STIRLING

Near Pottsgrove, ½ after 5 oclock P. M.,
September 24, 1777.

My Lord: Since I have seen Captn Faulkner,[75] and by him learnt the situation of Genl. McDougal, I am really uneasy to

[74] The proceedings are in the writing of Tench Tilghman. In addition to Major Generals Sullivan, Greene, Stirling, Stephen, and Armstrong and Brigadier Generals Knox, Weedon, Nash, Scott, Conway, and Potter; Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair and John Cadwalader were present. The proceedings are not signed. The council unanimously decided that until McDougall, Dickinson, Wayne, and Smallwood joined the army, with their troops, it would not be prudent to move nearer the enemy. In the Force Transcripts (*Continental Army Returns*, 31, 97), in the Library of Congress, is another record of this council which varies considerably in text, but not in sense, from the above. The original of this is, presumably, in the Adjutant General's Office, War Department.

[75] Capt. William(?) Faulkner, of the New York Militia.

find how low he is down and near to the Enemy (if they continue in the same position they were this morning).

Captn Faulkner says your Lordship proposed to send an officer to conduct him by some upper Road, but lest any other business should have withdrawn your attention from this matter, I send to inquire, and if it is not done, to beg that not a moments time may be lost in doing of it. To do this expeditiously is, in my judgment a matter of great Importance, as I conceive they will if they can get any Intelligence of his situation and numbers (this night) aim a stroke at him. Besides the officer that may have gone, I also beg that a few light horse with a good guide or two, may be sent to Patrole between him and the Enemy with orders to give him notice of any movement which may appear towards him this night.

After expressing my uneasiness on this head I shall rely upon yr. Lordships care &c. to guard against the stroke which I think (if the Enemy have knowledge of McDougals Situation) may be aimed. Your Lordship will please to forward any accts which may come to your hands of the Enemy's Situation or movements. I am, etc.[76]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Camp near Potts Grove, September 24, 1777.

Sir: This Army has not been able to oppose Genl. Howe's with the success that was wished and needs a Reinforcement. I therefore request, if you have been so fortunate, as to oblige Genl. Burgoyne to retreat to Ticonderoga, or if you have not, and circumstances will admit, that you will order Colo. Morgan to join me again with his Corps. I sent him up, when I thought you materially wanted him, and if his services can be dispensed

[76] The text is from *Magazine of American History*, vol. 3, p. 124.

with now, you will direct his immediate return. You will perceive, I do not mention this by way of command, but leave you to determine upon it according to your situation. If they come, they should proceed by Water from Albany, as low down as Peeks Kill, In such case you will give Colo. Morgan, the necessary orders to join me with dispatch.[77] I am etc.[78]

To LORD STIRLING

Head Quarters, 11 o'clock, A. M., September 25, 1777.

My Lord: I have your favor of 8 oclock now before me, and am surprised to find the Enemy in the same situation after the movement which they appear'd to be making according to the Information given by Genl. Reed.

I am sorry the Picquets march'd from hence yesterday, and I am still more concern'd that Genl. Armstrong with the militia moved to the Trap, as it was owing to a mistake they were not halted along with the other Troops at this place, the countermand of the march being intended for the whole, tho' I presume it never reached Genl. Armstrong.

Under these circumstances, and the present appearance of the weather (which has induced me to pitch our Tents, and see what the clouds have in charge) I mean to halt here at least to day, especially as I find Genl. Wayne will not be up till night (if then), and Smallwood not till to morrow. I should be glad, therefore, if your Lordship would consult Genl. Armstrong and

[77] To this letter General Gates replied (October 5): "Since the Action of the 19th Instant, [ultimo] the Enemy have kept the Ground they Occupied the Morning of that Day; and fortified their Camp. The Advanced Centrys of my picquets, are posted within Shot, And Opposite the Enemy's; neither side have given Ground an Inch. In this Situation, Your Excellency would not wish me to part with the Corps the Army of General Burgoyne are most Afraid of." (Burgoyne surrendered on October 17).

[78] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the letter sent is in that of Caleb Gibbs and is in the archives of the New York Historical Society. It varies in minor verbal particulars from the draft.

the other General Officers with you, and determine whether it will be best for you to march back to the Picquets, and for Maxwell's Corps to join their respective Brigades immediately or wait till tomorrow.

That you may be the better enabled to determine this point, I am to inform you, that I have directed Genl. McDougall to Halt at a place mark'd on the map Markeys, on the Skippack Road, between Welgers and Pennebakers Mill (at a star in the Fork of Perkiomy), and officers are gone out to view the grounds thereabouts, to see if it would be a convenient situation to assemble our troops at, and form a Camp; at the same time I must add that the Current Sentiment of the Genl. Officers here, is that it is too near the Enemy till we are in a better condition to meet them on any ground than we seem to be at present. I shall only add that the reason for halting McDougall there, is to save him the fatigue of a Counter March if we should move that way, as his Troops must be greatly fatigued by the length, and (of late) the rapidity of his march to form the junction with us. How far his situation there may be eligible, a few hours, with the intelligence they may bring, will probably determine. Your Lordship will, as before desired, take the sentiments of the Officers with you on these matters and let me know the result. I am, &c.[79]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Pottsgrove, September 25, 1777.

Parole Bunkerhill. Countersigns Bennington, Brandywine.

A General Court Martial is to sit immediately at the house where Genl. Conway quarters, for the trial of all prisoners which shall be brought before them. Col James Wood is appointed president of this court.

[79] The text is from Ford, but no draft or copy of it is found in the *Washington Papers*.

One careful Subaltern from each regt. is to be sent off immediately to Bethlaem with Col. Biddle, to inspect the baggage of the army, to see if it suffers by dampness, and if it does, to have it properly dried and put up again, and then to see that it be well secured, and guarded against plunderers. These officers are to assemble at 3 o'clock in the afternoon this day, at the Q M Genls. quarters, the next house beyond Head Quarters.

Henceforward, all Brigade returns are to be made directly, to the Adjt. Genl. Ordinary weekly returns of each brigade are to be made every Monday at orderly time.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Pottsgrove, September 26, 1777.

Parole Princeton. Countersigns Trenton, Bristol.

The troops are to be ready to march at nine O'clock this morning, with all baggage packed and men paraded. To march off by the left, in the order given the day before yesterday all the tent waggons to go next in the rear of the troops, in the order in which the troops march, and then the rest of the waggons. The leading division (Greene's) to beat a march and march, to be followed by the other troops in their order.

The Commander in Chief approves of the following sentences of a General Court Martial held the 25th. instant, whereof Col. James Wood was president.

John Farndon of Col. Hartley's regt. charged with "Desertion to the enemy, and inlisting with them." The Court are of opinion the prisoner is not guilty of inlisting with the enemy. The Court (upwards of two thirds agreeing) do sentence the prisoner, for the charge of desertion, to suffer *death*.

James Dilworth, of Col. Moylan's light dragoons, charged with "Desertion, and attempting to go to the enemy." Acquitted; and he is to be sent forthwith to join his regiment.

The General being informed, that many regiments have but one orderly book, he in some measure ceases to wonder, that orders are so little known, and so frequently disobeyed. Until each company can be furnished with an orderly book, the officers commanding regiments are to see that their officers and men are clearly informed of every order which concerns them respectively, by reading or causing the same to be distinctly read to them. Should there be in future, a well grounded plea of ignorance of orders, the commanding officers of regts. will consider themselves as answerable therefor.

The base and wicked practice of plundering the inhabitants, being still continued, (notwithstanding all former orders) and in some cases, in the most atrocious manner; The Commander in Chief requires, that the General Orders of the 4th. instant, relative thereto, be solemnly read without delay, by the commanding officer of each regiment to his men. The punishment announced in those orders, will certainly be inflicted on the offenders.

Daniel Applegate of the 1st New Jersey regt. charged with "Desertion and attempting to go to the enemy." Acquitted and he is forthwith to join his regiment.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Camp near Potts Grove, September 26, 1777.

Sir: I last night received a Letter from Major General Dickinson informing me that 900 Militia had crossed the Delaware under your command and that they were to march yesterday to Bristol. Considering the position of the Enemy, I am sorry you have fallen down so low, because it will be impossible for you to form a junction with us safely, without countermarching. As the Enemy have possession of Chesnut Hill, it will be necessary

for you to march up as high as Bogart's Tavern, from whence you are to turn Westward and proceed, as far as the Baptist meeting House near Bartholemews Tavern. You will then be in the Neighbourhood of this Army, as we shall move that way to day, and if upon your arrival there, you will inform me of it, I will send a guide to conduct you to whatever place we may be. I do not exactly know where the Militia under Colo. Potter are, they were in Philadelphia, and I imagine are taking a circuit to join us. Be pleased to delay no more time upon your March than is absolutely necessary to refresh the Men, as I am very anxious to draw our whole force together.

Genl. Dickinson informs me, that the particular circumstances of the State of Jersey oblige him to remain there; you will therefore be kind enough to communicate to him as much of the preceding as is necessary. I am etc.

P. S. If you find, before the receipt of this, that the Enemy have left Chesnut Hill and have gone into Philadelphia, you need not take so great a Circuit; you may in that case proceed up the Road that leads to the Cross Roads near the S. W. Branch of Neshaminy, from whence you may join us.[80]

To COLONEL CLEMENT BIDDLE

Camp near Potts Grove, September 26, 1777.

Sir: You are hereby authorized to impress all the Blankets, Shoes, Stockings [and other Articles of Cloathing] for the use of the Army, that can be spared by the Inhabitants in the Counties of Bucks, Philadelphia and Northampton, paying for the same at reasonable Rates, [or give Certificates].[81]

[80] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the P. S. is in that of Tench Tilghman.

[81] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets were added by Washington. This same impress warrant was given (September 26) to William Henry at Lancaster, Pa.

To ELBRIDGE GERRY

September 26, 1777.

Sir: I was this Morning favored with your Letter of the 24th. When I wrote Congress, I was informed, that there were several Arms in Lancaster belonging to the Public. These, with their Accoutrements, I wished to be collected and put into the Hands of the Militia coming from Virginia. But I did not mean that any, the property of Individuals, should be taken; because I did not conceive myself authorised, nor do I at this time, to order such a Measure. I don't know how the Inhabitants would relish such an exercise of Power. I rather think it would give great uneasiness. The Army is much distressed for Blankets and Shoes, and I wish the most vigorous exertions could be pursued to make a Collection the speediest possible where you are and in the Neighbourhood. I am satisfied, if proper Steps were taken, many might be procured. I have been and am doing all I can to make a Collection, but what will be obtained will be totally inadequate to the demand.[82]

We are now in Motion and advancing to form a junction with Genl McDougall. I expect to be joined in a day or two by Genl. Foreman with fourteen or Fifteen hundred Jersey Militia. The Main body of the Enemy are also advancing towards Philadelphia, and were below Germantown from my last advices; which also mentioned, that a Thousand Infantry, with about 100 Dragoons, had filed off towards Chesnut Hill. I fear they are pushing for Bristol, after our Stores, which I am apprehensive are not entirely removed tho' I gave orders for it, the Moment I heard they were there. I am &c.[83]

---

[82] "Since I wrote you a few minutes ago, His Excellency has received a letter from Mr. Gerry at Lancaster, in which he says that 300 pairs of Shoes had been sent off from thence to you; but as you have already obtained 200 pair from Reading, the General desires that when those arrive from Lancaster, they may be sent to the Clothier Genl: to be distributed among the Troops."—*Tench Tilghman to Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne,* Sept. 27, 1777. Tilghman's letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[83] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Head Qurs., Pennybeckers Mill, September 27, 1777.

Sir: I received your favour of the 26th. Instt. and am sorry to find you cannot bring on so respectable a force as we both cou'd wish, and you had reason to expect; however, must request that you collect your scattered parties as soon as possible, leaving only such as may be necessary to guard the Stores at Trenton, until they are removed. This I have reason to believe will shortly be accomplished, and then you may give directions to the commanding Officer to join you by some safe Route. I would have you to come on by the way of North Wales and fall into the Skippack Road, taking every precaution to avoid the Enemy's left Flank. After leading your Corps into the safe and proper Road, I should be glad you would come on yourself to me. I am etc.[84]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL THOMAS NELSON, JUNIOR

Head Qurs., Pennybeckers Mill, September 27, 1777.

Dear Sir: I this morning received your favour of the 12th. From the present face of things, I am inclined to think General Howe's object is so fixed, that Virginia will have but little cause to apprehend any Invasion this Campaign, and I suppose it highly probable, that the Fleet or the greatest part of it, which went into Chesapeak Bay will come round to Delaware. If my conjectures on these heads are right, the keeping all the Militia, that were first Assembled, would incur a heavy expence without any necessity for it. Upon the whole, the dismission of those you mention by the Governor and Council, appears to me to have been well judged, and I am of opinion all now in service need not be continued. I am exceedingly obliged by your readiness

[84] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

to afford me any assistance in your power. Were the Season not fast approaching when the Weather will be cold, I should perhaps request it. But as that is the case, and the Militia cannot be provided with the necessary Clothing and covering, I must decline it. To this consideration, I would add, that the difficulty of Crossing the Bay with safety, and the immense distance to march round it by Land with my expectation that some thing of importance will take place before their Aid could possibly arrive, are also against the measure.

The action which happened on the 11th. near Chadsford, on the Brandywine, you will have heard of. I have not time to give you the particulars. A contrariety of Intelligence, in a critical and important point, contributed greatly, if it did not entirely bring on the Misfortunes of that day. The action however was warm, and I am convinced, the Enemy's loss was considerable and much superior to ours. After this affair and refreshing our Troops a few days, I determined to try a second Action. For this purpose, I advanced with the Army, as soon as it was in a situation and was pushing to gain the Grounds on their left. I believe we should have effected it, and if not a General attack would have been made on their Front, had not my views unfortunately been totally frustrated by a most severe rain which came on, the day preceding that of the intended Action. This obliged us to change our Route and, continuing with great violence till late in the night, rendered our Arms unfit for use and destroyed almost all the Ammunition in the men's pouches, who were out and exposed during the whole time. Genl. Howe in two days after fell down towards Schuylkill near the Valley forge. We did the same, and passed with the main body of the Army above, and marching down, took post in his Front, while a part of our Force was left to hang on his Rear. In this situation matters remained a day or two, when the Enemy extended

themselves up the River, as if they meant to turn our Right and countermarching in the night, crossed some Miles below us; The River being fordable in almost every part. They have advanced towards the City, and were from the last advices at and about Germantown. It is probable some of their parties have entered the City, and their whole Army may, if they incline to do it, without our being able to prevent them. Here I must remark, that our distress for want of Shoes, is almost beyond conception, and that from this circumstance our operations and pursuit have been impracticable. I am taking every measure to obtain a supply, and I hope to be able to move in a short time, especially when we are joined by some Reinforcements that are coming on, and that under the favour of Heaven, our affairs will assume a more agreeable aspect than they now have.

Thus have I given you, for your own information, a Summary account of things here, and have only to add, that from some advices received this Evening, our Arms at the Northward have been attended with more success. The Intelligence seems to be thro' a pretty direct Channel, but yet it is not so authentic, as I could wish. According to the information, Genl. Burgoyne's Army, in an attack on the 19th. on the left wing of ours, was repulsed five times. I shall be happy if it is true, and impatiently wait for a Confirmation. I am etc.[85]

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

September 27, 1777.

Sir: The late movements of the Enemy and their determined purpose to execute their plans, if possible, require that every exertion should be employed on our part to baffle and defeat

[85] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

their designs. I therefore desire, that you will march, as soon as you can, with about one Thousand of the Virginia Militia, effective (Rank and file) with their respective Officers, out of those assembled at or coming to Lancaster, and join the Army under my Command. This Number I wish to be composed of those, that are best Armed and equipped for the Season. The remainder that are Armed are to wait at Lancaster for further orders. Those that are not, if there are any such, may return to their Homes as their continuing there or joining the Army in such a situation, will not be attended with any advantages to the States. I have mentioned this, from an apprehension, that there may be some in that predicament, as has been unhappily the case with many from Maryland and this State, who were willing to offer their Service. I cannot prescribe the particular Route by which you are to march, as that will depend upon circumstances and the situation of the Enemy. At present, it seems, that it should be thro' Reading. But the face of affairs now may change. I would therefore observe, that you will endeavour, as you advance, to obtain information of the Enemy's and our situation and regulate yourself accordingly. A junction with me, as early as possible, will be highly necessary, and, I trust, your exertions will be directed to accomplish it. I shall be to night in the Neighbourhood of Pottsgrove with the Army, about nine miles above this. I am &ca.

P. S. The Express has a Letter for Colo. Gibson. If he is in your Rear or on another Route, you will direct him to proceed immediately to him.[86]

To ELBRIDGE GERRY

Camp at Pennybecker's Mill, September 27, 1777.

Sir: I am favored with yours of the 25th. I yesterday wrote you, that I did not think myself Authorised to seize upon any

[86] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Arms the property of private Persons; but if they can be collected and the owners satisfied for them, it would be of very essential service, as great numbers of Militia would join the Army, could they be furnished with Arms. I am glad you have began the collection of Blankets and Shoes; this business cannot be carried to too great an extent, and I think, if the Measure is properly pursued, great Quantities of Blankets, Rugs and Coverlids, may be collected in the back Counties. The approach of the Enemy to Philadelphia, hindered the Officers I sent upon that Business from doing much; the disaffected hid their goods the moment the thing took wind and our friends had, before, parted with all they could spare. As soon as Gibson's Regiment or any of the Virginia Militia arrive at Lancaster, be pleased to send them forward without delay. I am &ca.[87]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at Pennybecker's Mills,
September 27, 1777.

Parole New-Castle. Countersigns Salem, Wilmington.

The General Court Martial of which Col. Wood is president, is to sit immediately, at the house next above Head Quarters.

As the troops will rest to day, divine service is to be performed in all the corps which have chaplains.

One orderly Serjt. from each brigade is to attend forthwith at Head Quarters; And the Brigade Major will see this done invariably, every day, when orders have not been previously given for marching. An orderly Serjeant from each brigade is likewise invariably to attend General Courts martial.

Such regiments as have not already made up spare ammunition, so as to complete at least 40 rounds a man, are to do it this day without fail. The commanding officers of regiments are to see this done. And all this spare ammunition is to be marked

[87] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

and put into an ammunition waggon for, and to follow, each division. The men are to carry only their cartridge-boxes, and tin Cannisters full.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at Pennybecker's Mills,
September 28, 1777.

Parole Stillwater. Countersigns Albany, Kingston.

The Commander in Chief has the happiness again, to congratulate the army, on the success of the American Arms, at the northward. On the 19th. instant an engagement took place between Genl. Burgoyne's army and the left wing of ours under Genl. Gates. The battle began at one o'clock and lasted 'till night, our troops fighting with the greatest bravery and not giving an inch of ground. Our loss is about 80 killed, and 200 wounded and missing; the enemy's is judged to exceed a 1000 in killed, wounded and taken prisoners. Both prisoners and deserters declare, that, Genl. Burgoyne, who commanded in person, was wounded in the left shoulder; that the 62nd. regiment was cut to pieces, and that the enemy suffered extremely in every quarter where they were engaged. Such was the ardour of our troops that wounded men, after being dressed, renewed the action. The Commander in Chief has further occasion to congratulate the troops on the success of a detachment from the northern army under Col. Browne, who attacked and carried several of the enemy's posts, and have got possession of the old french lines at Ticonderoga. Colonel Browne in these several attacks has taken 293 of the enemy prisoners with their arms; retaken more than 100 of our men, and taken 150 batteaus below the falls in Lake Champlain, and 50 above the falls, including 17 Gun boats, and 1 armed sloop, besides cannon, ammunition &c., &c.

To celebrate this success, the General orders that at four o'clock this afternoon all the troops be paraded and served

with a gill of rum a man, and that at the same time there be a discharge of *Thirteen* pieces of artillery at the park.

All spare ammunition in those divisions that have not close spare waggons to secure it, is to be returned to the park of artillery.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Pennebeckers Mill, September 28, 1777.

Sir: The present situation of our Affairs makes it necessary, we should exert every nerve to collect, without loss of time, all the force we can get together, to endeavour to compensate for the loss we have sustained, and prevent the enemy's reaping the advantage they expect from their late success. I must therefore beg the favor of you, to send forward and hurry on the militia that are coming from the Southward. I would wish them to take the shortest route to the Schuylkill, so as to cross it above the mouth of Trench Creek and thence proceed to join this Army, with all possible expedition. As the militia will march in seperate detachments, I am at a loss to call upon any particular officer to hasten their progress, which induces me to request your attention to the matter. You are sensible of the exigency of the times, and how essential it is, that the reinforcements for this army, should join it as speedily as the nature of things will permit; and I doubt not you will contribute every exertion, in your power, to promoting this desirable and important end. I am etc.[88]

COUNCIL OF WAR

Head Quarters at Pennibeckers Mill,
September 28, 1777.

His Excellency informed the Board, that the Main body of the Enemy, by the last accounts he had obtained, lay near

[88] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

German Town, and that part had marched into the City of Philadelphia; Whether to remain there or not he could not learn. That their whole force, from the best accounts he could get and from a comparative view and estimate, amount to about 8,000 Men.

That a detachment of Continental Troops from Peekskill, under the Command of Brigr. Genl. McDougall, consisting of about 900 Men, had joined the Army; That Genl. Smallwood with the Militia of Maryland, amounting to about 1100, had also arrived; and that Brigadier Forman, with about 600 Jersey Militia, would be near the Army to day on the Skippack Road. That of Continental Troops at this time in Camp, exclusive of the Detachment under Genl. McDougall and that under Genl. Wayne at the Trap, there were returned present fit for duty 5,472, to which is to be added the light Corps lately under Genl. Maxwell, supposed to amount to 450 Men, and the Militia of the State of Pensylvania under the Command of Major Genl. Armstrong. That upon the whole, the Army would consist of about 8000 Continental Troops rank and file, and 3000 Militia.

His Excellency further informed the Board, that a Body of Militia was coming from Virginia and that part had arrived at Lancaster. That he understood from Report, that the number of them amounted to near 2000 Men; but, that from good authority, he was advised they were badly armed and many of them without any at all.

His Excellency also informed the Board, that on the 24th. Inst. he dispatched an Express to Genl. Putnam, with a Letter dated the day before, ordering a Detachment to be sent immediately from Peeks Kill to reinforce the Army under his Command; which Detachment, in addition to the Corps then on the March under Genl. McDougall, should make the Whole Force directed from that Post, amount to 2500 Effective Rank and file.

Under these circumstances he had called a Council of War to consult and resolve on the most advisable measures to be pursued; but more especially to learn from them, whether with this Force it was prudent to make a general and vigorous attack upon the Enemy, or to wait further reinforcements, upon which he prayed their Opinions.

The Board having taken into consideration the Whole circumstances and the Question propounded, are of opinion, that an immediate Attack should not be made; But they advise that the Army should move to some Grounds proper for an Encampment within about 12 Miles of the Enemy, and there wait for a further reinforcement, or be in readiness to take advantage of any favourable Opportunity that may offer for making an Attack.[89]

Alexr. McDougall
H. Knox
F. Nash
P. Muhlenberg
T. Conway
Jno. Sullivan
Nathl. Greene
Stirling
Adam Stephen
John Armstrong

The subscribers being of opinion our force was sufficient to attack with; but being overuled concur with the above.

W. Smallwood
Jas. Irvine
Anthy. Wayne
Chs. Scott
Jas. Potter

[89] The proceedings are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. John Cadwalader and Joseph Reed took part in the council but did not sign the proceedings.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Camp at Pennybeckers Mill, September 28, 1777.

Dear Sir: I wrote you on the 23d. Instt., lest the Letter should have miscarried by any means, I now inclose you a Copy. I must request your earliest attention to the Contents, and that you will not delay a moment in sending the Troops which are ordered. Their Aid becomes more and more necessary, and I wish you, to urge the Officer, who shall have the command, to join me as soon as possible without injuring and harrassing the men too much. The Route you'll find marked out by the Copy, which they will pursue, with such other directions as are therein given. I have only to add, that your exertions in forwarding them on and theirs to afford me the earliest succour possible, will not only be pleasing, but extremely interesting. I fully expect that neither will be wanting. I am etc.[90]

To JOHN PARKE CUSTIS

Perkiomy in Philadelphia Cty, September 28, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your Letter of the 11th. Instant came to my hands Yesterday. It was always my intention, if agreeable to your Mother, to give you the offer of renting her Dower Estate in King William, during my interest therein, so soon as you came of Age to Act for yourself. On two Accounts I resolved to do this; first, because I was desirous of contracting my own business into as narrow a compass as possible; and secondly, because I thought an Estate, so capable of improvement as that is (in the hands of a person who had a permanent Interest in it and the means withall) ought not to be neglected, 'till such time as an unfortunate event and perhaps a distant one might put you in possession.

[90] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

The little attention I have been able to pay to any part of my own private business, for three Years last past, is the cause, why this, among other matters, has escaped me; but since you have mentioned it yourself, I have only to add that it will be quite agreeable to me that you should have the Land and every thing thereon, except breeding Mares, if any there be, and Fillies.

To regulate the Rent by the Rule you have mentioned, I could not consent to, because, if the Plantation had been under good management, it would have fixed it higher than you ought to give; if under bad management, which I believe to be the case, it would fix it too low, and might settle it at nothing. The only true Criterion, is to determine what so much Land, with so much Marsh, in such a part of the Country would Rent for; and next, the Annual Value of so many Slaves, estimating them at their present Worth, at the same time, having respect to the advantages and disadvantages of the Old and the Young, as the one is declining and the other improving.

As you are desirous of having the matter fixed, as speedily as possible; as the distance between us is too great, The Season far advanced, and Letters too apt to Miscarry to negotiate a business of this kind, in that way, and as I wish for no more, than impartial Gentlemen, unconnected with both of us, shall say I ought to have, I am content to leave the valuation of the whole to General Nelson, Colonel Braxton, and George Webb Esquire. I mention these Gentlemen, because they are persons of Character, and because no time may be lost in the Appointment.

Whatever Rent they shall fix upon the Land, and whatever hire for the Negroes, I contentedly will take: The Stock of every kind (except Mares and Fillies) Plantation Utensils, and Working Tools may also be valued; at which you may take them: By this means, the whole business may be finished at once. That these Gentlemen (if you approve the method of

ascertaining the Rent) may know it is with my approbation the request is made to them, you will shew them this Letter, and at the same time apologize, in my Name, for the trouble it will give them, if they are obliging enough to undertake it.

My extreme hurry, especially at this juncture, only allows me time to add my Love to Nelly, and to assure you that I am, with sincere Regard and Affection.

P. S. In the present fluctuating State of things, there is one thing which justice to myself and your Mother, requires me to condition for, and that is, that the Rent stipulated shall have some relative value, to secure an equivalent for the Land and Slaves: Otherwise, as the Lease will be an absolute conveyance of the Estate from your Mother and me; we may, at the end of a few Years, if paper Money continues to depreciate, get nothing for it. I do not mean by this to insinuate that I am unwilling to receive paper Money: On the contrary, I shall with chearfulness receive payment in any thing that has a Currency at the time of payment, but of equal value then to the intrinsic worth at the time of fixing the Rent. In a Word, that I may really and not Nominally get what was intended as a Rent.[91]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Camp Pennybecker's Mill, September 29, 1777.

Sir: I received yours of Yesterday from the Buck Tavern, desiring my orders for your Route. I wrote to you Yesterday by Cornet Russworm,[92] directing you to march to North Wales Meeting and from thence to Wentz's[93] upon the Skippack Road; but lest that should have missed you, I now confirm

[91] The text is from the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

[92] William Rushworm, cornet, North Carolina Dragoons.

[93] Peter Wentz's, in Worcester township. Washington occupied his house for headquarters the middle of October.

the order and desire you may follow it. When you arrive at Wentz's, you will probably be in the Neighbourhood of this Army as we shall move that way to morrow should the day be fair. I am etc.[94]

To COLONEL LEWIS NICOLA[95]

Camp Pennybeckers Mill, September 29, 1777.

Sir: Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 25th. instant from Fort Mifflin. Before this reaches you, Lt. Colo. Smith[96] will have thrown himself into the Fort with two hundred Continental Troops, which are all that I could possibly spare. I very much approve of your calling upon Govr. Livingston for a Reinforcement of Jersey Militia, and I think you had better call in the few Men that are at Billingsport and if there are any Stores there, remove them to Fort Mifflin.

By this opportunity I transmit Commodore Hazlewood and Captn. Alexander.[97] Letters from Congress, desiring them to give every assistance towards the defence of the Fort and obstructions in the River; and I inclose you Copy of the General Orders of this day, by which you will see how successful our Arms have been to the Northward. I hope we shall not in the end fall short of them.

Captn. Treat[98] mentions that there is no quantity of Musket Cartridges in the Garrison, you should therefore immediately procure loose powder from the Ships, if you have none in the Magazine, and set the Men to making up. I put great

[94] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[95] Of the Invalid Regiment.

[96] Lieut. Col. Samuel Smith, of the Fourth Maryland Regiment. He was wounded at Fort Mifflin on October 23 and received a vote of thanks and a sword from Congress on November 4 for his gallant defense of that fort; resigned in May, 1779.

[97] Capt. Charles Alexander, of the Continental Navy.

[98] Capt.-Lieut. Samuel Treat, of the Second Continental Artillery. He was killed at Fort Mifflin Nov. 15, 1777.

dependance upon you and all your Officers exerting yourselves in the defence of a post of so much consequence. You must be sensible that Genl. Howe can neither support his Army in Philadelphia, if he is cut off from a communication with his Ships, neither can he make good a retreat should any accident befall him. I am etc.[99]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp Pennybacker's Mill, September 29, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of the 26th inclosing letters for Commodore Hazlewood and Capt. Alexander, which I have forwarded to them. Lt Colo Smith must have arrived at Fort Mifflin two days ago, As I heard from him at Ancocus Creek[1] in the Jerseys. Colo. Nichola was in the Fort with about 60 of his Regiment of Invalids and two Companies of Artillery, of thirty each, and I advised him to withdraw what force was at Billingsport and to remove the few stores from thence to Fort Mifflin. He intended to call on Govr. Livingston for a reinforcement of Jersey Militia. Genl. Smallwood joined me yesterday with the Maryland Militia, but much reduced by desertion. I question whether they will exceed one thousand rank and file. Genl. Foreman will fall in with the Army to day with between Eight and nine hundred Militia and Continental troops from Jersey. There are but few of the latter, being only small detachments picked up on his march. I shall move the Army four or five miles lower down to day, from whence we may reconnoitre and fix upon a proper Situation, at such distance from the Enemy, as will enable us to make an attack, should we see a proper opening, or stand upon the defensive, till we obtain further reinforcements. This was the opinion of a Majority of a Council of General Officers, which

[99] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[1] Rancocas Creek.

I called yesterday. I Congratulate you upon the success of our Arms to the Northward and if some accident does not put them out of their present train, I think we may count upon the total ruin of Burgoyne. I have the honor etc.[2]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at Pennybecker's mills,
September 29, 1777.

Parole Whiteplains. Countersigns North Castle, Stamford.

The troops are to be in readiness to march this morning at Ten o'clock.

John White Esqr. is appointed a Volunteer Aid de Camp to Major General Sullivan, and is to be respected as such.

Lieut. Col. Hendricks[3] is promoted to the rank of Colonel of the 1st. Virginia regt. in the room of Col. Reed[4] deceased.

Major Simms[5] of the 13th. Virginia regt. to be Lieut. Col. of the 6th., in the room of Lieut. Col. Hendericks promoted.

Capt. Campbell[6] of the 8th. to be Major of the 13th. Virginia regiment in the room of Major Simms promoted.

The Brigadiers or Officers commanding brigades are to parade their respective brigades, at 8 o'clock to morrow morning, and under their own eyes, have exact returns made, of the officers and men, present on the ground, which returns they are immediately afterwards, to transmit to the Adjutant General. Such of their officers as are absent on duty, or sick, they are as speedily

[2] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

[3] Col. James Hendricks. He served as colonel of the First Virginia Regiment until February, 1778.

[4] Col. James Read. He died Sept. 29, 1777.

[5] Maj. Charles Simms. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Sixth Virginia Regiment; transferred to the Second Virginia Regiment in September, 1778; resigned in December, 1779.

[6] Capt. Richard Campbell. He was promoted to major in the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment; lieutenant colonel in February, 1778 (regiment designated Ninth Virginia Regiment in September, 1778); transferred to Fourth Virginia Regiment in February, 1781; wounded at Camden, S. C., in April, 1781; killed at Eutaw Springs, S. C., in September, 1781.

as possible, to order to join their corps. If any such officers get taken by the enemy, they will not be exchanged.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at Shippack, September 30, 1777.

Parole Lynn. Countersigns Malden, Medford.

One Surgeon's mate from each division, who can best be spared, is to go to Bethlaem forthwith, to bring down the medicine chests of their respective divisions.

One hundred and fifty ax-men, from Genl. Sullivan's, Greene's, Lord Stirling's and Stephen's divisions, and Genl. Nash's brigade, are to be selected this day, and a like proportion from the other brigades. These men are always to carry their axes with them, to march with the picquets when the army moves, to prepare timber for, and repair the roads; when arrived at the new encampment, they are to cut firewood for their respective brigades. The Brigade Qr Masters are constantly to go with these men, and direct them in the business above mentioned. For these services the ax-men are to be excused from all guards, and other ordinary duty; but when an action is expected, they are to deliver the axes to their brigade Qr. Masters (who are to be accountable for the axes of their brigades) and join their several corps. When on duty as ax-men, they are always to carry their arms with them. A list of their names is without delay, to be given to the Brigade Quarter Masters, by the respective brigade majors.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, September 30, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have been duly favoured with yours of the 10th. instant. With respect to supplying the Continental frigates with

ammunition from the Continental magazines, as I have not copies of the Letters you mention[7] with me, I am not certain how far they may have authorized the measure, but I intirely approve of your granting the necessary supply from them. The frigates ought not to want so essential an article, and I know of no other way in which they could be furnished, with equal propriety, if at all.

I am happy to hear of the valuable prizes that have been lately brought into your port. We shall stand in need of all our activity, to increase our supplies by these means, and render them, as far as possible, adequate to our numerous and pressing wants.

The aspect of our Northern affairs, is extremely pleasing; particularly by our last accounts, which give us to hope that Ticonderoga, ere this has fallen into our hands, and that General Burgoyne, after an unsuccessful attack, has been obliged to retreat under circumstances that threaten his ruin. It is of the greatest importance that these favourable prospects may be speedily realized.

Probably, before this reaches you, you will have heard that General Howe, after much manœuvring, marching and countermarching, has at length gained possession of Philadelphia. Many unlucky incidents prevented in a great measure, the opposition he would have received before he accomplished his purpose; notwithstanding our misfortune on the Brandywine. But though matters have taken a turn different from what we could have wished, I am in hopes, it will not be long before we are in a situation to repair the consequences of our late ill success, and give a more happy complexion to our affairs in this quarter.

I wrote to you some time since, to forward with all dispatch the three additional regiments from your State to this Army.

[7] Heath mentioned Washington's letter to him, Apr. 18–19, 1777, *q. v.*, and a letter from Henry Knox to Maj. Francis Barber, for which he did not give a date. The Continental Navy Board for the Eastern District had applied for the powder.

I trust you have expedited this business in a manner suitable to the exigency of the occasion, but if any thing remains, that can serve to hasten their coming, I beg it may be done. I am etc.[8]

P. S. Please to deliver the inclosed to Capt. Hill[9] of the regiment late Patterson's. [MS. H. S.]

To CAPTAIN JEREMIAH HILL[10]

Head Quarters, September 30, 1777.

Sir: Your Letter of the 6th. Instt. I received some days ago. As the Congress were pleased to vest the Legislature, or Council of the Massachusetts State with the power of appointing Officers to the Several Regiments raised by them, I would not willingly interfere with their Arrangements. I cannot tell the motives which might induce them to promote Captn. Cogswell. I shall be sorry, if any Officer of merit has been aggrieved, and as you conceive, that you have, and request a discharge, I shall not insist on your remaining longer in service, if it is your wish to leave it. Give your Commission to Genl. Heath. I am etc.[11]

To COMTE PULASKI

Head Quarters, September 30, 1777.

Sir: Upon getting home,[12] I found the inclosed from Genl. Reed.[13] I therefore desire you will immediately form a Detachment of at least fifty Horse of which part are to be of Colo. Moylans, in their Red Uniforms, which will serve to deceive

[8] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The draft, which is also in Hamilton's writing, varies in minor particulars from this letter sent.

[9] See following letter.

[10] Of the First Massachusetts Regiment. He handed in his resignation Nov. 4, 1777.

[11] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[12] Headquarters on this date were at Skippack, Pa.

[13] Joseph Reed's letter is not found in the *Washington Papers*, but it seems from Moylan's letter to Washington (October 1) that the purpose of the 50 dragoons was to surprise a small party of British light horse and foragers. Moylan's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

both the Enemy and Country people. I can give you no better directions than what are contained in Genl. Reed's letter, for the Route that the party is to take, I only recommend it to you, to put it under the command of a good Officer and to send them off immediately. I am &ca.[14]

To WILLIAM AYLETT

Head Quarters, September 30, 1777.

Sir: I was favoured with your Letter of the 12th. Instt.,[15] a few days ago, advising me of the Appointments you had made in the line of your Department,[16] of which I shall take proper notice.

In respect to your inquiry, most of the public Stores were removed from Elk, except the Grain. This in general fell into the Enemy's hands and was either used or destroyed by them. When they arrived, there were several Vessels in the Harbour, which were certainly taken, as they could not fall down below them; But whose property they were, or whether any of them were those in which you were interested, are Facts I cannot ascertain. I have been told that they burnt some, such, I suppose, as they had no use for. I am etc.[17]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, October 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have yours of the 27th. and 28th. Ulto., and am glad to find that the Reinforcement I ordered, is in such forwardness. I make no doubt but some Troops have arrived at New York from Europe, but I am pretty certain they are not any thing like so numerous as your informant mentions. I know it

[14] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[15] Aylett's letter, dated Sept. 12, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*.
[16] Deputy Commissary General of Purchases, Southern Department.
[17] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

has been their Custom thro' the whole Campaign, to swell their Reinforcements much beyond what they really were. If Genl. Burgoyne is defeated, or hindered from making any further progress, as we may reasonably infer he is from the last accounts, the North River will be no Object for the Enemy. I rather think, if Genl. Clinton moves at all, it will be thro' Jersey to form a junction with Genl. Howe.

I do not fully understand, from part of your Letter of the 27th., whether the Cannon were brought from Springfield by order of Congress or your own, I can hardly think the latter, because I do not know that they were wanted at Peekskill. Upon inquiring of Genl. McDougall, he tells me that each Brigade had its full compliment of Artillery; but recommends it to you to have two of the heaviest pieces mounted upon travelling Carriages and kept to annoy any Vessels that may attempt to lay in the River near you, the remainder to be sent up to Fishkill, to which place I would wish you to remove your Supernumerary Arms and Stores of every kind. That matters may go regularly on in every department, I could wish you would inform me, before you order any Quantity of Artillery, Arms or Ordnance Stores from Springfield; you may always depend upon being supplied with what is necessary, and I shall then always know exactly what are your resources.

If Genl. McDougall should be mistaken in his opinion, that all the Continental Brigades have their compliment of Artillery, you will in that case have them completed before you send the Cannon to Fishkill. I am etc.

P. S. You must urge Govr. Trumbull, in the most pressing manner, to send in Militia to replace the Continental Troops that are drawn from you, I have wrote to him upon the Subject, but I beg you will also back the request.[18]

[18] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Head Quarters, October 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: The vast quantity of Stores of different kinds that are accumulated at Trenton will make it a work of some time to remove them, and if they are left intirely uncovered, it may tempt the Enemy to send up a light party to destroy them; I shall therefore be glad if you will endeavour to throw in a Body of your Militia to mount a guard over the Stores till they are removed. I must leave the number to you, as I do not know what disposition you have made of your force. I would only hint, that the importance of the Stores is such, that I could wish it may be as respectable as possible. I am &ca.[19]

To COLONEL JONATHAN MIFFLIN

Head Quarters, October 1, 1777.

Sir: I am exceedingly anxious for the removal of our Stores from Trenton. It is, in the present situation of things, a very insecure place, particularly since the Capture of the Delaware frigate, which will facilitate any enterprise the Enemy may form for their destruction. The loss of them would be irreparable, and it is consequently of the last importance you should exert your utmost activity to remove them with all possible expedition. But there are some things, for the safety of which, your first attention ought to be employed. Such are Military Stores, Articles of Clothing and whatever else we are in immediate want of, and can with difficulty, procure. These you will by all means get away in the first place. Provisions and such things as the Country readily affords may with more propriety be risked to the last. But not a moment should be lost, nor any

[19] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

industry spared to get the whole off, as speedily as the nature of things will permit.

In order to expedite the business, of removing the Stores out of more immediate danger, I should wish you to make some shorter intermediate stage between Bethlehem or Eastown[20] and Trenton, where you could deposit them for the present, and afterwards convey them to the places designed.

The urgent necessity that the Stores should be immediately secured, forbids our being over scrupulous in providing the means of doing it. If the civil power will not aid you with energy in getting Waggons, you must not want them on that account, but must make a good use of the means you have, and get them at all events. Punctilios, in this emergency, must not hinder our doing whatever is essential to the good of the Service.

Let me know what progress you have already made, and what prospects you have for the future. Advise me daily if you can, how you go on. I am &ca.

P. S. I have written to General Dickinson to endeavour to send some Troops in addition to those now at Trenton to cover the Stores. It will be happy, if he can do it, but it should by no means relax your efforts for their removal.[21]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, October 1, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 27th. Ulto. by Major Mullen[22] and am sorry to hear that you found matters so much out of order at Fort Mifflin. Much must depend upon your activity and that of the Other Officers in Garrison. Two Waggon

[20] Easton, Pa.

[21] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[22] Maj. Thomas Mullens. He was brigade major to Borre and aide to General Conway; returned to France in June, 1778.

loads of Ammunition were sent off from Trenton the moment Major Mullen arrived there, and I have directed Mr. Mease the Clothier General to forward the necessaries wanted for your detachment. The Capture of the Delaware Frigate is a most unlucky circumstance, and what, from every account, seems to be the effect of treachery and not of the chance of War. Should you have occasion for Ammunition in future, the inclosed order from Genl. Knox will cause the delivery without applying to me, the Ammunition will be removed some distance above Trenton. I am &ca.[23]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM PALFREY

October 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: As the Troops are applying for their pay for the month of August, and as it is inconvenient for the Warrants to be sent so far as Bethlehem to be paid, I request that you will join the Army, as soon as you can with the Military Chest, If the contents will answer or are nearly sufficient for the purpose. You should advise the Congress of the state from time to time, that you may receive the necessary supplies. I am etc.[24]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, October 1, 1777.

Sir: I was just now honored with your favor of the 30th. Ulto. with Its inclosures; I am extremely concerned, that the Situation of Affairs in Jersey is Such, as to preclude me from any hope of a further reinforcement from thence. The account transmitted by Genl. Dickenson, if true, is very interesting; But I trust even the Smallest number of Troops said to have

[23] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[24] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

arrived, is exaggerated, as none of the public prints, till a late paper or two from New York, have made mention of any such force. The Report, however, added to the contiguity of Staten Island to the Main, which affords an easy passage across, for incursions on the part of the Enemy, holds forth but too just grounds of apprehension in the Eastern Militia and for their being employed where they are. If all were united, all would be well, but in this Quarter, Toryism and disaffection too generally mark the conduct of the people. I will not enlarge. Our affairs at present have an unfavourable appearance, but I hope they will change for the better. I have the honor etc.

P. S. It should be remembered always, that if we can destroy the Enemy's grand Army, the Branches of it fall of course.

The Situation of our public Stores, particularly those of the Ordnance kind at Trenton, gives me great uneasiness. I have directed every exertion to be employed for their removal. I must intreat, that any Assistance you can give in Waggons &c. may be afforded; Also that a body of Militia under a Spirited Officer, if it is possible may be ordered there as a guard 'till they can be removed. I have Spoken to Colo Scudder[25] upon the Subject, to whom I take the liberty of referring you.[26]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Qurs., October 1, 1777.

Sir: I was yesterday honored with yours of the 24th Ulto., with its inclosures.

The prosperous situation of our Northern affairs, is a very pleasing and important circumstance; It is to be hoped they may continue in the same train, and have as happy an issue, as

[25] Col. Nathaniel Scudder, of the New Jersey Militia.
[26] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

they seem now to promise. If they have, besides the advantage of disappointing the views of the enemy in that quarter, it will necessarily have a very desireable influence upon our operations here.

With respect to the promotion of Col. Meigs,[27] I am unable, without knowing how he stood in the line, to determine its propriety. In consequence of powers derived from Congress for the purpose, and in order to prevent that Confusion which arose in the army, for want of some general established rule of promotion; I some time since appointed a board of General Officers, to take the matter into consideration; and in pursuance of their opinion, fixed it as a general rule, that all officers below the rank of Major, should rise regimentally; and all of that rank and above it, should succeed to vacancies, according to their seniority in the line of the state to which they belong. If Colo. Meigs was the oldest Lt. Colo. in the line his late appointment was regular and unexceptionable; if not, his seniors will have a right to complain.

You will hear before this gets to hand, that the enemy have, at length, gained possession of Philadelphia. Many unavoidable difficulties and unlucky accidents, that we had to encounter, helped to promote this success. This is an event, that we have reason to wish had not happened, and will be attended with several ill consequences; but, I hope, it will not be so detrimental as many apprehend, and that a little time and perseverance, will give us some favorable opportunity of recovering our loss, and putting our affairs in a more flourishing condition. Our army has now had the rest and refreshment it stood in need of, and our soldiers are in very good spirits. With great regard and esteem, I have the honor etc.

[27] Col. Return Jonathan Meigs. He was appointed to the command of the Sixth Connecticut Regiment September 10 to rank from May 12, 1777; retired Jan. 1, 1781.

P. S. The state of things here has obliged me to draw a further reinforcement from Peekskill in addition to that under Genl McDougall. This will render that post weaker, than is consistent with its security; and I must therefore intreat you will be kind enough to afford Genl. Putnam, every aid from the militia of your state, that you possibly can. you are sensible of the importance of taking care of that Post and I am persuaded, you will do every thing in your power to contribute towards it.[28]

To MRS. ELIZABETH FERGUSON

Head Quarters, October 1, 1777.

Madam: I wish I could with propriety grant the request contained in yours of the 29th. Septr. A permission for Mr. Ferguson[29] to come out and remain at Greene Park thirty days, implies his intent to return at the expiration of that time into the Quarters of the Enemy. I confess it appears to me very odd, that a Gentleman who has been so long absent from his family should wish to remain so short a time with them. Whatever might be my private inclination to indulge you, my duty obliges me, on this occasion, to refuse a compliance with your wishes on the terms proposed. I am, etc.[30]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at Skippack, October 1, 1777.

Parole Winchester. Countersigns Warwick, Windsor.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentences of a General Court Martial, held the 28th. of Sept. 1777, whereof Col. James Wood was president.

[28] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[29] Henry Hugh Ferguson.
[30] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Lieut. Robert Cragg of Col Hazens regt. charged with "Repeated disobedience of orders." Acquitted.

Adjutant Kincaid,[31] acting Brigade Major to General Scott; charged with "Not bringing his picquet on the grand parade in proper time." Acquitted.

Whenever a field officer is named for any duty, and he is sick or absent, the Brigade Major of the brigade to which such officer belongs is to warn another in his stead, and report his name to the Adjutant General.

When Aids-de-Camp go from camp with their Major Generals, a Brigade Major of the division is to be notified thereof and directed to attend at Head Quarters for orders at orderly time.

The Brigade Qr. Masters are to apply to the Quarter Master General for their quota of axes for the purposes mentioned in yesterday's orders. No more fences to be burnt in future, on any pretence whatever; if unavoidable necessity compels us to it, license must first be obtained from the Commander in Chief.

AFTER ORDERS

The whole army are to strike their tents to morrow morning at 8 o'clock, and get ready to march. At *nine* the march is to begin, Genl. Sullivan's division leading, followed by Lincoln's, McDougall's, Greene's; these form the first line; then the park of artillery, then the second line in this order, Stirling's division, Nash's, Stephen's. Genl. Sullivan's division to beat a march as a signal for marching, the beat to be continued by the others successively. The whole are to encamp on the new ground in the same order. General Armstrong is at the same time to move by the shortest route to the right of the first line, on the ground the Q. Mr. General will point out. The waggons to go in the

[31] Lieut. William Kincaid, of the Twelfth Virginia Regiment. He resigned in December, 1777.

rear of the army, in the order of the brigades to which they belong; All the tent waggons first.

The regimental Quarter Masters are to see that vaults be dug immediately upon the army's arrival on its new ground; and any soldier caught easing himself elsewhere is instantly to be made prisoner and punished by order of a regimental Court Martial. The Brigade Quarter Masters are without fail to see all offal buried every morning, and are to apply to their brigades for men for that purpose. Regimental or Brigade Quarter Masters failing in the duties here required of them, are forthwith to be arrested.

Some person from each distinct body or brigade of militia is to attend daily at Head Quarters for orders at noon.

Each Brigade Quarter Master is to make an immediate return of the number of baggage waggons in his brigade, to the Qr Mr General.

An officer from each brigade is to remain 'till the troops have marched off, then to make search for and bring on all stragglers.[32]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp, 20 Miles from Philadelphia, October 3, 1777.

Sir: Yesterday afternoon, I had the honour to receive your Favours of the 30th Ulto. with their Inclosures. I was much obliged by the Accounts from the Northern Army, tho' in general they had reached me before, and I flatter myself, we

[32] *Cf.* the order of march September 14. (See note to General Orders, Sept. 14, 1777, *ante.*)

October 1, Gen. George Washington wrote out the following passport for his friend, Bryan Fairfax, the original of which was in the possession of Mr. Thomas Fairfax in 1891:

"The bearer hereof Bryan Fairfax, Esqr. together with his son Mr. Thomas Fairfax and their baggage has permission to pass all guards on their way to New York and the Commanding Officer at any advanced post is requested to furnish a Flag and give any other assistance to effect this purpose. Given under my hand, etc." (See Washington's letter to Bryan Fairfax, Dec. 8, 1777, *post.*)

shall soon hear, that they have been succeeded by other fortunate and interesting Events, as the Two Armies, by General Gates's Letter, were encamped near each other.

I shall pay due attention to the Resolution you refer me to, and no exertions on my part shall be wanting, to collect what Necessaries I can for the Army. This I am persuaded will be equally attended to by the Honble. Board of War, and I hope by care and industry, many Supplies may be obtained to relieve our distresses, which in the Articles of Shoes, Stockings and Blankets are extremely great.

Since my Letter of the 29th, no favourable change has taken place in our affairs. On the contrary, we have sustained an additional loss in the capture of the Delaware. She fell into the Enemy's hands in a day or two after they were in possession of the City, and in a manner not yet well understood. Some have supposed the Crew mutinied, while another report is, that she was disabled in her Rudder by a shot and drove on shore. This misfortune takes off the success of Capt. Biddle's cruize.[33] I will not dwell longer on the subject;[34] Congress may rest assured, all the means in my power shall be employed to put our affairs in a more agreeable train and accomplish the end, they so earnestly wish. I have the honor etc.[35]

[33] Capt. Nicholas Biddle, and the prizes he had taken off Charleston, S. C.

[34] As soon as the British had taken possession of Philadelphia they erected three batteries near the river to protect the city against such American shipping and craft as might approach the town. On September 26, before the batteries were finished, Commodore Hazelwood, by the advice of a council of officers, ordered two frigates—the *Delaware* and *Montgomery*, each of 24 guns—the sloop *Fly*, and several galleys and gondolas to move up to Philadelphia and commence a cannonade on the town should the enemy persist in erecting fortifications. The *Delaware* anchored within 500 yards of the batteries and the other vessels took such stations as were suited to their object. At 10 o'clock on the morning of the 27th the cannonade began, but on the falling of the tide the *Delaware* grounded. In this disabled condition the guns from the batteries soon compelled her colors to be struck, and she was taken by the enemy. A schooner was likewise driven on shore, but the other frigate and small craft returned to their former station near the fort. The suspicion that the crew mutinied was never confirmed, nor was there any such hint in the British commander's dispatch describing the event.—*Sparks.*

[35] In the writing of John Walker; the draft is in that of Robert Hanson Harrison.

P. S. Inclosed is a Copy of Genl Howe's Proclamation issued the 28th Ulto.[36]

To JOHN PAGE

Head Qurs., 20 Miles from Philadelphia,
October 3, 1777.

Dr. Sir: I was this morning honored with your favor of the 19th Ulto and am much obliged by your kind wishes for my success and happiness. It has not been in my power, on account of our Situation and the various important concerns of the Army, to transmit more frequent intelligence, than I have, to my Southern Friends; and I should be happy, if things were in such a Train at this time, as would give them pleasure; But they are not. On the 27th. I wrote Genl Nelson fully, of their State, and make no doubt he will have advised you of the Same, before this comes to hand. If he has not, I must beg leave to refer you to him, and will add, that since that period no favorable change has taken place, Tho' I trust, under the Smiles of providence, one soon will. The Enemy are Still in possession of the City, and by some means, not well understood, the Delaware Frigate has fallen into their hands. It gives me pleasure, while I am mentioning our misfortunes here, to inform you, that our affairs at the Northward, have a more prosperous asspect. The accounts from thence are not so late, nor so accurately stated, as I could wish; yet they afford strong hopes, that we shall do well. You have them in the inclosed paper, which contains the latest.

[36]A copy of Howe's proclamation of September 28 is not found in the *Papers of the Continental Congress* or the *Washington Papers*. It referred to Howe's proclamation of August 27, offering pardon and protection to inhabitants of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and the eastern shore of Maryland, and promised protection to those who had taken advantage of that offer to date. Copies of both proclamations—that of August 27 and September 28—are in Gaine's *New York Gazette*, Nov. 10, 1777.

You may rest assured, that I shall pay every attention to your request, and that if any movements of the Enemy should indicate a Southern expedition, I shall give you the earliest notice. At present, their Object is so fixed, that I think one is not to be apprehended in a short time; However, I would recommend, every useful improvement and regulation to be adopted, for placing the Militia upon the most respectable footing, as Virginia in the Course of the War, may be invested in turn. I do not mean by this, that the Militia lately embodied should be continued.

Capt. Pierce[37] delivered me the Governor's Letter two or three days ago. I shall cheerfully inform him of any interesting intelligence, that he may transmit it. I have the honor etc.[38]

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Qurs., 20 Miles from Philadelphia,
October 3, 1777.

Dr Sir: I have been honored with yours of the 5th and 8th. of Septr. As you are pleased to make allowance for the great variety of Business that engages my attention, I must plead that in excuse for not acknowledging the receipt of your favors sooner. Had any thing in the motions of the Enemy seemed to indicate an attack upon Virginia, I should not have delayed one moment in giving you proper intelligence.

Colo. Thomas Marshall of the 3d Virginia Regt. informs me, that the State are about raising a new Regiment of Artillery. He Seems desirous of exchanging the Foot Service for that of

[37] Capt. William Pierce, of the First Continental Artillery. He was aide to Generals Sullivan and Greene; thanked and presented with a sword by Congress for his conduct at Eutaw Springs, S. C.; served to close of the war.

[38] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

the Artillery, as he thinks he could render his Country more service in that line. His Mathematical Abilities are sufficiently known in Virginia, and he possesses in addition to those necessary qualifications for an Artillery Officer, that of indubitable Bravery, of which he has given proofs upon every occasion. Col. Marshall has Solicited the Command of this Regiment and requested me to menton, that if the State should please to honor him, that his leaving the foot Service would not be disagreeable to me, it being his Choice.

The inclosed recommendation in favor of Capt. Charles Porterfield,[39] at present attached to the 11th Virginia Regiment, was handed to me by the Gentlemen who subscribe it, with a desire that I would and request your interest for the Commission of Lieutenant Colonel or Major of the New Regiment of Artillery if the places are not already disposed of. I cannot undertake to recommend Capt. Porterfield upon my own particular knowledge, but he is universally esteemed by his acquaintances in the Army, as an Officer of very extraordinary Merit. He also, I am informed, has made the Military Branches of the Mathematics his particular Study. This Gentleman entered very early into the Service of his Country, he accompanied Genl. Arnold in his expedition to Quebec, at the Storm of which under General Montgomery, he was made prisoner.

I shall chearfully communicate every piece of intelligence, particularly interesting to the State of Virginia, to Capt. Peirce, and any other of such Nature, that may be made public without injuring the Service. I therefore hope, that thro' him, you will be informed of every material occurrence in the Army. He is not about Head Quarters at present, and as my attention is taken up in planning a matter of great importance, I must beg leave

[39] Porterfield became brigade major to Woodford's brigade in July, 1778; resigned in July, 1779, to become lieutenant colonel of a Virginia State regiment; mortally wounded at Camden, S. C., in August, 1780; died in October of that year.

to refer you to a very full letter which I wrote to Genl. Nelson,[40] a few days ago, in which I gave him a particular account of all our late transactions.

The inclosed hand Bill contains a full account of Northern Affairs, we are very anxious to hear the issue of them. Genl. Burgoyne seems to be in a fair way of being utterly ruined. Nothing but a successful stroke can extricate him. I have the honor etc.[41] [V.S.L.]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at Wentz's, Worcester Township,
October 3, 1777.

Parole Baltimore. Countersigns Boston, Charlestown.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentences of a General Court Martial, of which Col. James Wood was president; held the 30th. of September 1777. Viz:

John Barret a soldier in the 10th. Virginia regiment, charged with desertion, sentenced to be reprimanded by the Colonel of the regiment he belongs to at the head of the regiment.

Peter Clutter charged with "Desertion" from Col. Spencer's regiment, found guilty, sentenced to receive fifty lashes on his bare back.

Ensign Richard Rout of the 12th. Virginia regiment charged with "Quitting his division the 16th. day of Septemr. when an attack was expected to be made by the enemy." The Court are of opinion the prisoner was excusable in leaving his division on the 16th. of September on account of his being unwell.

Christian Avis of the 12th. Pennsylvania regiment, charged with "Desertion"; found guilty, and sentenced to receive fifty lashes on his bare back.

[40] See Washington's letter to Brig. Gen. Thomas Nelson, jr., Sept. 27, 1777, *ante*.
[41] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Capt. Bartholomew Von Heer[42] charged with "Disobedience of orders, in sending for the baggage of his company"; also charged with "Impressing two horses on the march, said to be for the use of the Artillery, and appropriating one of them to his own use, which he refused to give up, tho' wanted for the purpose for which it was said to be impressed"; found guilty of disobedience of General Orders in sending for the baggage of his company, and not guilty of the other charge exhibited against him. The Court do sentence the prisoner, for the charge he is found guilty of to be reprimanded by the Brigadier General of the Artillery, in the presence of the officers attached to the park of artillery.

Major Peers[43] charged with "Repeated neglect of duty in not bringing his men for picquet, on the grand parade in proper time and order; with not attending the parade when Brigade Major of the day, and also with totally neglecting to bring his quota of men, ordered to parade the morning of the 30th of Septr. at the park of artillery at sunrise"; found guilty of the whole of the charges exhibited against him and sentenced to receive a severe reprimand from the Major General of the division to which his brigade belongs, in the presence of the officers of the division.

The Court martial of which Col. Wood was president is dissolved.

A General Court Martial is to sit this day at a tent near the park of artillery, for the trial of all prisoners which shall be brought before them. Col. Josiah Parker[44] is appointed president of this court.

---

[42] Of the Fourth Continental Artillery. On June 1, 1778, he was appointed captain of the Maréchausée Corps, or provost dragoons; served to end of the war.

[43] Maj. Valentine Peers. He was brigade major to General Weedon.

[44] Of the Fifth Virginia Regiment. He resigned in July, 1778; served subsequently as colonel of Virginia Militia in 1781.

Lewis Fleury Esqr. is appointed Brigade Major to The Count Pulaski, Brigadier General of the Light Dragoons, and is to be respected as such.

Thomas Mullens Esqr. is to act as Brigade Major to Genl. Conway 'till further orders, and to be respected as such.

The distribution of tin Cannisters is to be made as particularly directed this morning, and the officers commanding regiments are themselves to see that the cartridges are carefully stored in them.

The Engineers are to make dispatch, in throwing up works, in the front of the encampment.

The Commander in Chief has the satisfaction to inform the army, that at the southward, the Continental Frigate Randolph, lately fell in with a fleet of five sail of the enemy's ships, and took four of them, one of them mounting 20 guns, and another 8, all richly laden. At the northward every thing wears the most favourable aspect, every enterprise has been successful, and in a capital action, the left wing only of General Gates's army maintained it's ground, against the main body of the enemy; commanded by General Burgoyne in person; our troops behaving with the highest spirit and bravery, during the whole engagement; which lasted from one o'clock 'till dark. In short, every circumstance promises success in that quarter, equal to our most sanguine wishes. This surely must animate every man, under the General's immediate command. This army, the main American Army, will certainly not suffer itself to be out done by their northern Brethren; they will never endure such disgrace; but with an ambition becoming freemen, contending in the most righteous cause, rival the heroic spirit which swelled their bosoms, and which, so nobly exerted, has procured them deathless renown. Covet! my Countrymen, and fellow soldiers! Covet! a share of the glory due to heroic deeds!

Let it never be said, that in a day of action, you turned your backs on the foe; let the enemy no longer triumph. They brand you with ignominious epithets. Will you patiently endure that reproach? Will you suffer the wounds given to your Country to go unrevenged? Will you resign your parents, wives, children and friends to be the wretched vassals of a proud, insulting foe? And your own necks to the halter? General Howe promised protection to such as submitted to his power; and a few dastard souls accepted the disgraceful boon. But his promises were deceitful; the submitting and resisting had their property alike plundered and destroyed. But even these empty promises have come to an end; the term of *Mercy* is expired, General Howe has, within a few days proclaimed, all who had not then submitted, to be beyond the reach of it, and has left us no choice but *Conquest* or *Death*. Nothing then remains, but nobly to contend for all that is dear to us. Every motive that can touch the human breast calls us to the most vigorous exertions. Our dearest rights, our dearest friends, and our own lives, honor, glory and even shame, urge us to the fight. And My fellow Soldiers! when an opportunity presents, be firm, be brave; shew yourselves men, and victory is yours.

The Colonels or commanding officers are to see that every regiment be drawn up this afternoon, the rolls called, and these orders distinctly read to them.

Every officer who commands a troop or company, in the several regiments and corps in the continental army, must immediately make out his muster rolls to the first of October, that the whole army may be mustered with the utmost expedition. Such officers, as have heretofore neglected a due attention, to making a regular return of their muster rolls, will be answerable for any future neglect.

GENERAL ORDERS

[October 3, 1777.]

The troops to be ready to march this evening at six oClock. The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne to form the right wing and attack the enemy's left; they are to march down the Monatany road. The divisions of Green and Steven to form the left wing and attack the enemy's right; they are to march down the Skippack road, General Conway to march in front of the troops that compose the right wing, and file of to attack the enemy's left flank. General McDougall to march in front of the troops that compose the left wing, and file off to attack the enemy's left flank. General Nash and General Maxwell's brigade to form the corps de reserve and to be commanded by Major General Lord Stirling. The Corps De reserve to pass down the Skippack road. General Armstrong to pass down the ridge road pass by Leverings Tavern and take guides to cross the Wissahiecon creek up the head of John Vandeering's mill-dam so as to fall above Joseph Warners new house. Smallwood and Forman to pass down the road by a mill formerly Danl. Morris and Jacob Edges mill into the White marsh road at the Sandy run: thence to white marsh Church, where take the left hand road, which leads to Jenkin's tavern, on the old york road, below Armitages, beyond the seven mile stone half a mile from which turns off short to the right hand, fenced on both sides, which leads through The enemys incampment to German town market house. General McDougall to attack the right of the enemy in flank. General Smallwood and forman to attack the right wing in flank and rear.

General Conway to attack the enemy's left flank and General Armstrong to attack their left wing in flank and rear. The

militia who are to act on the flanks not to have cannon. Packs and blankets to be left, the men are to carry their provisions in their Haversacks, or any other manner least inconvenient. All the pioneers of each division who are fit to march are to move in front of their respective divisions, with all the axes they can muster. [every Officer and Soldier to have a piece of White paper in their Hatt.] Pickets on the left of Vanderin's mill to be taken off by Armstrong: one at Allen's house on Mount Airey by Sullivan. One at Lucans Mill by Greene. Each Column to make their disposition so as to attack the pickets in their respective routs, precisely at five oClock with charged bayonets without firing and the columns to move on to the attack as soon as possible. The Columns to endeavour to get within two miles of the enemys pickets on their respective routs by two oClock and there halt 'till four and make the disposition for attacking the pickets at the time above mentioned.

The Columns of Cont: troops and militia to communicate with each other from time to time by light horse.

Proper flanking parties to be kept out from each Column.[45]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp near Pennibackers Mill, October 5, 1777.

Sir: Having received intelligence, thro' Two intercepted Letters, that Genl Howe had detached a part of his force for the purpose of reducing Billingsport and the Forts on Delaware, I communicated the Accounts to my General Officers, who were unanimously of Opinion, that a favourable opportunity

[45] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. Indorsed by Washington: "Order of March and Battle German Town 4th Oct. 1777." Another copy, in an unknown hand, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress,* indorsed by Charles Thomson: "Copy of general Orders for an Attack 4 Octr. 1777." It varies in minor particulars from the one printed here. The phrase in brackets is in the copy in the *Papers of the Continental Congress* and not in Hamilton's draft.

offered to make an Attack upon the Troops, which were at and near German Town. It was accordingly agreed, that it should take place Yesterday morning and the following dispositions were made. The Divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's Brigade, were to enter the Town by the way of Chesnut Hill, while Genl Armstrong, with the Pensylvania Militia should fall down the Manatawny Road[46] by Vandeerings Mill and get upon the Enemy's left and Rear. The Divisions of Greene and Stephen, flanked by McDougal's Brigade, were to enter by taking a circuit by way of the Lime Kiln Road at the Market House and to attack their Right wing, and the Militia of Maryland and Jersey under Generals Smallwood and Foreman were to march by the old York road and fall upon the rear of their Right. Lord Stirling with Nash and Maxwell's Brigades was to form a Corps de Reserve. We marched about Seven O'Clock the preceding Evening and Genl Sullivan's advanced party, drawn from Conways Brigade, attacked their Picket at Mount Airy or Mr. Allen's House, about Sun rise the next Morning, which presently gave way, and his Main body, consisting of the Right Wing, following, soon engaged the Light Infantry and other Troops, encamped near the picket, which they forced from the Ground, leaving their Baggage.

They retreated a considerable distance, having previously thrown a party into Mr. Chew's House, who were in a situation not to be easily forced, and had it in their power, from the Windows, to give us no small annoyance, and in a great measure to obstruct our advance.[47]

---

[46] Pickering says "the old Egypt or Schuylkill road."

[47] The draft described this attack on the Chew House as follows: "They retreated as far as Mr. Chew's House, which they occupied and from the Windows did us considerable damage. during this time I waited with great anxiety to hear from Genls. Greene and Armstrong, but received no intelligence, and it was impossible to discover their movements or firing on account of a thick, heavy Fog which prevented our seeing more than Fifty Yards." This was afterwards stricken out.

The Attack from our left Column under Genl. Greene began about three Quarters of an Hour after that from the Right, and was for some time equally successful. But I cannot enter upon the particulars of what happened in that Quarter, as I am not yet informed of them with sufficient certainty and precision.[48]

The Morning was extremely foggy, which prevented our improving the advantages we gained, so well as we should otherwise have done. This circumstance, by concealing from us the true situation of the Enemy, obliged us to act with more caution and less expedition than we could have wished, and gave the Enemy time to recover from the effects of our first impression; and what was still more unfortunate, it served to keep our different parties in ignorance of each Others movements and hindering their acting in concert. It also occasioned them to mistake one another for the Enemy, which, I believe, more than any thing else, contributed to the misfortune which ensued. In the midst of the most promising appearances, when every thing gave the most flattering hopes of victory, the Troops began suddenly to retreat; and intirely left the Field, in spite of every effort that could be made to rally them.

Upon the whole it may be said the day was rather unfortunate than injurious. We sustained no material loss of Men and brought off all our Artillery, except one piece which was dismounted. The Enemy are nothing the better by the event; and our Troops, who are not in the least dispirited by it, have gained what all young Troops gain by being in Actions. We have had however several valuable Officers killed and wounded, particularly the latter, General Nash is among the wounded and his life is despaired of. As soon as it is possible to obtain a Return of our loss, I will transmit it.

In justice to Genl Sullivan and the whole right wing of the Army, whose conduct I had an opportunity of observing, as

[48] Washington himself was with the right wing.

they acted immediately under my eye, I have the pleasure to inform you, that both Officers and Men behaved with a degree of Gallantry, that did them the highest honor. I have &ca.

P. S. As I have observed, I have not received a Return of our loss, but from what I have just now learnt from Genl Greene, I fear it is more considerable than I at first apprehended in Men. The Cannon mentioned above, is said to have been brought off in a Waggon.[49]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Perkiomy, October 5, 1777.

Parole Ludlow. Countersigns Manchester, Newport.

The officers commanding regiments are to make returns of the cartridges wanted for their men, to complete them to forty rounds each, and draw the materials for making them at the park of artillery, early to morrow morning; one attentive officer from each regiment is to be present, to superintend the making of the cartridges for the regiment, and see that they are well made up, and the materials not wasted. The arms are to be cleaned and put in good order immediately; such as are charged and cannot be drawn, are to be discharged at noon, to morrow, under the direction of their officers. Each regiment is to draw 12 cartridges a man, ready made, at the park of artillery, besides the above materials.

All the detachments of horse, are to be collected as soon as possible to one place, as near as may be to the army, except the two parties under Captains Lee[50] and Craig.[51]

Returns as exact as possible are to be made of the killed, wounded, and missing in the action of yesterday, and delivered to the Commander in Chief at 4 o'clock to morrow afternoon.

[49] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft is in that of Harrison and Alexander Hamilton.

[50] Capt. Henry ("Light Horse Harry") Lee, of the First Continental Dragoons.

[51] Capt. Charles Craig, of the Fourth Continental Dragoons. He had been wounded at Brandywine.

The Brigade Majors will be punctual in this matter, and where there are no Brigade Majors, the Brigadiers or officers commanding brigades are without delay to appoint persons to do their duty. One set of columns are to shew the killed, of the different ranks, a second the wounded, and a third set of columns the missing.

The Commander in Chief returns his thanks, to the Generals and other officers and men concerned in yesterday's attack, on the enemy's left wing, for the spirit and bravery they manifested in driving the enemy from field to field; And altho' an unfortunate fog, joined with the smoke, prevented the different brigades seeing and supporting each other, or sometimes even distinguishing their fire from the enemy's, and from some other causes, which as yet cannot be well accounted for, they finally retreated, they nevertheless see that the enemy are not proof against a vigorous attack, and may be put to flight when boldly pushed. This they will remember and assure themselves that on the next occasion, by a proper exertion of the powers which God has given them, and inspired by the cause of freedom in which they are engaged, they will be victorious. The Commander in Chief not seeing the engagement with the enemy's right wing, desires the General officers who commanded there, to thank those officers and men who behaved with becoming bravery; and such in either wing who behaved otherwise are to be reported.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Perkiomy, October 6, 1777.

Parole Fredericksburg. Countersigns Fairfax, Frankfort.

The commanding officers of regiments are without delay to send to the provost for such of their men as have been tried and their sentences published.

The Battalion of militia from Virginia, commanded by Col Rumney,[52] are to be attended to and do duty with General Scott's brigade.

Brigadier Genl. Pulaski will make a return of the horse as soon as possible.

Thomas Mullen Esqr. appointed the 3rd. instant to act as Brigade Major to Genl. Conway, is now, for his gallant behaviour on the 4th. instant, appointed Brigade Major to General Conway, and is to be respected and obeyed as such.

John Laurens Esqr. appointed on the 6th. of September extra Aid de Camp to the Commander in Chief, is now appointed Aid de Camp to him, and is to be respected and obeyed as such.

The commanding officers of corps are every morning to report the strength of them to their Brigadiers or officers commanding brigades, that it may be known daily what stragglers have joined.

Buckshot are to be put into all the cartridges which shall hereafter be made.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Head Quarters, Philadelphia County, October 6, 1777.

Sir: You having informed me that the times of many of your present brigade of militia are near expiring, and that many others who came out for no certain time, are anxious to return home, you have my permission to march them towards Delaware, under pretence that you are going to guard the stores at Trenton, and when they have crossed the river you may discharge them. But I must beg that you will immediately use your utmost endeavors to collect a number equal to what you

[52] Col. William Rumney, of the Virginia Militia.

were to have brought in your last brigade, and return with them as soon as possible to join the army under my command. I shall be glad if you will let me know, upon your arrival in Jersey, when I may expect you again, and with what force. I am, etc.[53]

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, October 6, 1777.

Sir: I cannot forbear assuring you, that I am some what at a Loss to understand the design of your Letter of the 3d. instant. I can hardly believe you to be serious in remonstrating against a proceedure fully Authorized by the common practice of Armies, countenanced by the Conduct of your own Troops at Trenton, and obviously calculated to answer a purpose very different from that of distressing the Inhabitants and increasing the common calamities incident to a State of War. If this is a consequence of it, it is an unavoidable one, and had no part in producing the Measure.

I flatter myself the Public is sufficiently sensible, that it is not my wish nor aim to distress, but to protect the Inhabitants, and know how to interpret any thing, that with respect to Individuals, may seem to deviate from this end. Nor will they be easily persuaded to consider it, as any injustice or Cruelty to them, that my parties should have rendered useless for a time a few Mills in the Neighbourhood of your Army, which were so situated as to be capable of affording them no inconsiderable Advantages.

I am happy to find you express so much sensibility to the sufferings of the Inhabitants, as it gives room to hope, that those wanton and unnecessary depredations, which have heretofore, in too many instances, marked the conduct of your Army, will

[53] The text is from *Selections from the Correspondence of the Executives of New Jersey from 1776 to 1786.* (Newark: 1848, p. 104.)

be discontinued for the future. The instances I allude to need not be enumerated, your own Memory will suggest them to your imagination, from the destruction of Charles Town in the Massachusetts, down to the More recent burning of Mills, Barnes and Houses at the Head of Elk, and in the vicinity of the Schuylkill.[54] I am etc.[55]

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

October 6, 1777.

General Washington's compliments to General Howe. He does himself the pleasure to return him a dog, which accidentally fell into his hands, and by the inscription on the Collar, appears to belong to General Howe.[56]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Camp near Pennibackers Mill, October 6, 1777.

Dr Sir: I was this evening honored with your favor of yesterday. I am much obliged by your attention to Colo Stewart's[57] application, and for your Letter to the Magistrates, and I trust by perseverance and care, the several important Stores which were removed to Trenton, will be Secured. I confess their situation has given me great uneasiness.

---

[54] General Howe had written:

Head Quarters, 3 October, 1777.

Sir, Your Parties having destroyed several Mills in the adjacent Country, which can only distress the peaceable Inhabitants residing in their Houses, I am constrained from a Regard to their Sufferings, and a sense of the Duty I owe to the Public, to forewarn you of the Calamities which may ensue, and to express my Abhorrence of such a Proceeding. At the same Time I am inclined to believe, that the Outrages already committed have not been in consequence of your Orders, and that this early Notice will engage you to put an effectual Stop to them; If not, I do in the most direct Terms disclaim any share in creating the general Scene of Distress among the Inhabitants, which such Destruction must inevitably cause. With due respect, I am, &c. W. Howe.

[55] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[56] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[57] Col. Charles Stewart, Commissary General of Issues of the Continental Army.

Your description of a Tory seems to me to be well drawn. Those who come within it appear unconquerable but by the means you mention.[58]

From General Dickenson's Account, it is probable some movement is about to take place, on the part of the Enemy. perhaps it may be only a landing in pursuance of their original plan, to prevent Reinforcements to this Army. I hope, whatever the design may be, that he will be able to make head against them.

You will have heard of the Action on the 4th. I shall only add, that we lost the day by a sudden retreat of our Troops, at a Time when every appearance promised Victory, and a defeat of General Howe's Army. The Misfortune, I am persuaded, was occasioned by a Fog, which was so thick and heavy, that our several Columns and parties could not discover each other's movements and harmonise in the attacks. I hope things will be more favorable at another time. I have the honor to be etc.[59]

To COLONEL HENRY HOLLINGSWORTH[60]

Head Qurs., Philadelphia County, October 6, 1777.

Sir: You will oblige me much, if you will immediately upon the receipt of this, set about making the most Minute inquiry into the number and situation of the Enemy at Wilmington. I imagine both these points may be ascertained with precision, as I am informed there is a very free intercourse between the

[58] Livingston had written: "I really pity Your Excellency's Situation with respect to the Tories. In my small Department, I have infinite Trouble with them. A Tory is an incorrigable Animal: And nothing but the Extinction of Life, will extinguish his Malevolence against Liberty." This letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[59] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[60] Superintendent of flour magazines for Lancaster and Chester Counties, Maryland and Delaware. Later he was Deputy Forage Master General and Deputy Quartermaster General.

Country and Town. The principal matters to be inquired into are. The force of the Enemy, where posted and whether in Barracks or Camp. Where their Artillery is placed. Whether they have any Lines or Redoubts and where, where their pickets are and of what numbers they consist. When you have gained a competent knowledge of the above, I beg you will inform me by Letter, or if you can spare the time, I shall be glad to see you personally.

I am informed that there is a considerable quantity of Corn and other Grain belonging to the public which the Enemy did not destroy when they left Elk, I shall be much obliged if you will endeavour to procure Waggons and have it removed some distance inland. I should suppose it would be safest over towards Lancaster, but as you are well acquainted with the Country I leave the place to your own discretion. I am etc.[61]

To JOHN GILL[62]

Camp at Pawlins Mill, October 6, 1777.

Sir: Lieutt. Dongan[63] has waited upon me to know in what manner you can best employ the Militia of Bucks. I think at present you cannot do better than to post them upon the different Roads leading to Philadelphia, beginning at the Bristol Road and extending across the Country to the Westward. The Guards should fall down as near Philadelphia, as they possibly can and pay particular attention to stopping all persons from going in with marketing. If any are taken coming out of the town from whom any particular information is obtained, let the Officer who receives the information report it to me. If any persons leave the Country and go in to the Enemy, their Horses

[61] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[62] Sub-lieutenant of Bucks County, Pa.
[63] Lieut. Garret Dunghan, of the First Battalion, Bucks County, Pa., militia.

and Cattle should be immediately secured for the public [and sent to this Army] leaving their Milch Cows and a Horse or two to draw Wood &ca. for support of their families. I am &ca.[64]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Camp Pawlings Mill, October 6, 1777.

Sir: I have yours of yesterday informing me that the detachment under your command will be at Coryells Ferry this Evening. I desire you will cross immediately upon the Rect. of this and proceed by the nearest Rout to Hilltown Township near the Heights of which we shall move our Encampment. As soon as you arrive upon your Ground send me a Messenger to let me know exactly where you are. I am, etc.[65]

To COLONEL JOHN SIEGFRIED[66]

Philadelphia County, October 6, 1777.

Sir: By virtue of the power and authority given me by the Honourable Congress, I hereby request and authorize you to appoint such and so many persons as you shall see fit to collect for the use of the Continental Army, all such blankets, shoes, stockings, and other articles of clothing as can possibly be spared from the inhabitants in your section of the country, giving receipts therefor, to be paid by the Clothier General. Obtaining these things from the Quakers and disaffected inhabitants is recommended, but at all events to get them.[67]

---

[64] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The phrase in brackets was inserted by Washington.

[65] The text is from the *Magazine of American History*, vol. 7. This letter, an L. S., was sold by Henkels in 1912.

[66] Of the Pennsylvania Militia.

[67] The text is from the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 13.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM WOODFORD

Given at Head Quarters, October 6, 1777.

By virtue of the power delegated to me by the Honble the Continental Congress I hereby Authorize you to take all such Shoes Stockings and Blanketts as can possibly be Spared by the Inhabitants of the Neighbourhood of Bethlehem for the use of the Continental Army, the person appointed for this purpose to give Certificates of the Quantity and Quality which will be paid for by the Clothier General at a reasonable price.[68]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp near Pennibackers Mill, October 7, 1777.

Sir: Since I had the honor of addressing you on the 5th, I have obtained a Return of our loss in the Action on Saturday, by which it appears to be much more considerable, than I first apprehended, tho' I always imagined myself, that it was greater than it was generally supposed to be. The Copy of the Return inclosed[69] will shew the amount as it now stands, but I hope many of those who are missing will yet come in.[70] I fear however, there are several under that denomination, to be added to the number of the slain, as the Action was warm in every Quarter, from the information of the Officers who commanded the different Attacks. What loss the Enemy sustained, I am not able precisely to ascertain, but from a variety of corresponding Accounts, of persons who left the City since and those of a Deserter, it was very considerable. The Deserter, who is intelligent, says Genl. Agnew[71] was killed Sir William Erskine wounded

[68] In private hands. This document, an L. S., was sold at the McGuire sale in 1892.

[69] This return is not found in either the *Papers of the Continental Congress* or the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[70] See Washington's letter to John Augustine Washington, Oct. 18, 1777, *post*.

[71] James Agnew. He was an aide-de-camp to the King and ranked as a brigadier general in America.

in the head and leg, and that their general loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to near Eight Hundred. Several Reputable persons from the City, corroborate this, particularly with respect to General Agnew's death. Some say, upwards of Two Hundred Waggons with wounded were carried in after the Action and before they came out, and that it was the common belief there, that the Enemy had been severely handled. It is with much chagrin and mortification, I add, that every account confirms the opinion I first entertained, that our Troops retreated at an instant when Victory was declaring herself in our favor. The tumult, disorder and even despair, which it seems had taken place in the British Army, were scarcely to be parallelled; and it is said, so strongly did the Ideas of a retreat prevail, that Chester was fixed on as their Rendezvous. I can discover no other cause, for not improving this happy Opportunity, than the extreme haziness of the weather.

My intention is to encamp the Army at some suitable place, to rest and refresh the Men, and recover them from the still remaining effects of that disorder naturally attendant upon a Retreat. We shall there wait for the Reinforcements coming on and shall then act according to circumstances. General Varnum, with the Detachment from Peekskill, amounting to about Twelve Hundred including Officers, would be last night at Coryel's Ferry. About Five Hundred Militia from Virginia and Two hundred from Maryland, together with Colo Gibson's State Regiment, consisting of 226 Effectives, have already joined the Army. Since the Action, General Forman's Brigade of Jersey Militia has quitted us. The men began to be uneasy at their situation and desirous to return Home; and as by some intelligence received from General Dickenson, there was reason to imagine there might be a call for their services in the Jersies, it was thought expedient to gratify their desire.

In Congress October 8th 1777.

Resolved Unanimously, That the thanks of Congress be given to Genl Washington for his wise and well concerted Attack upon the Premier Army near Germantown on the 4th Instant, and to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army for their brave Conduct on that Occasion; Congress being well satisfied that the best Designs and boldest Efforts may sometimes fail of compleat success by unforeseen Incidents; trusting that on future Occasions, the Valour and Virtue of the Army will, by the Blessing of Heaven, be crowned with desired Success. —

By order of Congress
John Hancock President

Thanks of Congress to Washington and the Army for Their Attack on the British at Germantown, October 8, 1777

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
LIBRARY

The state of our Water defence on the Delaware, is far from being as flattering as could be wished. After some slight opposition from the Jersey Militia under Genl Newcomb, a detachment of the Enemy took possession of Billingsport. This perhaps is an event of no material consequence. But it is to be lamented that many of the Officers and Seamen on board the Gallies, have manifested a disposition that does them little honor. Looking upon their Situation to be desperate, or probably from worse motives, they have been guilty of the most alarming desertions. Two whole Crews, including the Officers, have deserted to the Enemy. I learn however by Capt. Bruer, who is this moment arrived here from the Fleet, that the Accounts they have received from the City of our late Attack, were such, as to have produced a favourable change, and to have inspired them with more confidence. I would here observe, that the charge of bad conduct was by no means applicable to the whole, far from it. He further adds, that four of the Enemys Ships made an Attempt Yesterday morning to weigh the Chevaux de frizes opposite Billingsport; but were repulsed by our Gallies, which has also contributed to raise the spirits of the seamen. Our Garrison on Fort Island, consisting of little more than Two hundred Continental Troops under Lt. Colo. Smith,[72] appear determined to maintain their post to the last extremity.

I beg leave to mention to Congress, that there is a great deficiency of General Officers in this Army. When the detachment coming from Peeks Kill joins us, we shall have thirteen Brigades. These require as many Brigadiers and six Major Generals. Instead of these, we shall have only four Major Generals and Eleven Brigadiers and the deficiency will be still increased by the death of Genl. Nash which from every appearance is

[72] Baron d'Arendt commanded at Fort Mifflin until October 27, when he was forced by illness to retire. The command was then assumed by Lieut. Col. Samuel Smith, but not without some dispute.

momently to be expected. General Woodford's absence, occasioned by his wound, adds to our embarrassments, tho' it will be but for a time. Under these Circumstances, Congress will be sensible that the government of the Army cannot go on with that energy, which is essential to its well being and success. Neither Officers nor Men will transfer the respect and obedience they pay to a General Officer, to a Colonel, who happens to be appointed to the temporary command of a Brigade; nor will he, knowing his authority to be only temporary, be as Solicitous to inforce it, as one who is conscious he is to continue in the station he fills. Want of leisure prevents my being more particular at this time; but I shall take the liberty, in a day or two, to point out the Troops that are in want of General Officers, with my observations on the Subject. I cannot however omit this opportunity of recommending Genl McDougall to their notice. This Gentleman, from the time of his Appointment as Brigadier, from his abilities, military knowledge and approved bravery, has every claim to promotion. If I mistake not, he was passed over in the last appointments of Major Generals and younger Officers preferred before him; but his disinterested attachment to the Service, prevented his acting in the manner that is customary in like circumstances. This I think gives him a peculiar title to esteem, and concurs with the opinion I have of his value as an Officer, to make me wish it may appear advisable to Congress, to promote him to one of the vacancies.

It would be well, the intended inquiry into the Conduct of Genl Sinclair[73] could be brought to a speedy issue, and if he is acquitted to the satisfaction of Congress, as his general Character as an Officer is good, that he may be again restored to the service.

[73] Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair.

By a Letter this Evening received from Colo. Hawkes Hay of Haverstraw, dated the 5th at 4 O'Clock P. M., Four Ships of War, a considerable number of Armed Vessels, Eight Transports and Forty flat Bottom Boats, arrived that morning in the Bay opposite that place and were landing Troops at Verplank's point. Their number nor design were not known. I have the honor &c.[74]

P. S. Inclosed you will find a Copy of a Letter from Colo. Mifflin, containing an account of the Action of the 4th, as mention'd by the British Officers in Philadelphia. I would beg leave to observe, that I think Miss Leonard's name should not be mentioned.[75]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Qurs. near Pawlins Mills, October 7, 1777.

Sir: I am favour'd with yours of the 1st and 2d Inst. The Troops coming in from Virginia, should have directions to

[74] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft is in that of Harrison and Alexander Hamilton.

[75] Col. Jonathan Mifflin's letter of October 6 was to Col. Clement Biddle. A copy of it, by Caleb Gibbs, is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.* Miss Leonard, who had just come from Philadelphia, gave the following account: "In her presence several British Officers who had returned from the Action of the 4th. Instant Confessed that they had never met with so severe a Drubbing since the Battle of Bunkers Hill, that the Attack was made with great Judgment and Supported with equal Bravery, that Genl. Agnew was killed on the spot. Genl. Grant Mortally wounded (and reported to be dead before she left the City) two Colo. Killd. and a great Number of officers wounded, that all the Hospitals in town would not Contain the wounded. Six Rooms were bespoke for wounded Officers at her Aunt's, immediately on the Alarm all the troops march'd out of the City not a single Centry was left. The tories talk of moving off with Genl. Howe that two more such worsters must ruin them. The General talk of the British Officers before the Action was that immediately after the Compleating their Fortifications which they are Carrying on with the greatest Expedition they intended to take the field but now they begin to be apprehensive of Genl. Washington pushing his Succees. they receive no supplies from Jersey but a good deal from over the Schuylkill. Continental money has not been cryd down but is taken at Several Shops. Mrs. House and Mrs. Gard are ordered out of their houses which are to be given away. Mrs. Kersly lives in Doctr. Shippens house which she has received *for services done,* Genl. Howe is to live in Genl. Cadwallader's House, when he comes to the City he has rode in but once Hd. Quarters are at German Town. All the Furniture in the deserted houses is collecting and to be sold at Vendue. The Allans are all in Phila. Bill is raising a Regiment which is call'd General Howes."

proceed from Lancaster down what is called the Horse Shoe Road, and Cross Schuylkill about one Mile and a half below Potts grove, when they have crossed the River, they will hear where the Army is encamped and they must reach it by the most direct route. I have given Authorities to Mr. Henry of Lancaster and to several others, to impress Blankets Shoes, Stockings and other cloathing; but unless Congress or the Board of War will extend the matter much farther, I fear very little, in comparison to our wants, will be done, for it cannot be expected that I can spare Officers and Men, at this critical Juncture, to go upon that business. If any parcels of Shoes are in the hands of particular persons in the Country, there is no other method to be fallen upon, but to take them and pay a reasonable price for them. This I have done in several instances and I must beg and intreat, that if you know of any such parcels, that they may be immediately seized and sent on to the Army.

I know not where Major Nicholas[76] is or what were his particular orders; but I think you had better direct him not to bring his Arms and Stores further down than Bethlehem or that Neighbourhood, from thence they can be removed to the Western parts of the state, if it should be thought more secure.

As Govr. Trumbull obtained the Arms for the State of Connecticut, by an order from the Board of War or from Congress, I think they should direct him to return them into the Public Magazine, when the State is in no danger of invasion. I shall direct Genl Heath not to keep any more, than the three Regiments now raising, have actually occasion for.

When Mr. Mease has removed all his Stores from Trenton, I expect to see him here. I recommended it to him, to fix his principal Store at Lancaster, as thinking it would be the most

[76] Col. Robert Nicholas, Assistant Commissary of Military Stores. He was bringing a shipment of arms from the laboratory at Springfield, Mass.

likely place to get Cloathing made up. Those Recruits, who are under such Circumstances that they cannot come in for want of Cloathes had better remain at Lancaster till they can get a supply.

I expect Genl Varnum with 1250 Men from Peekskill will join me to Morrow. The State Regiment of Virginia came in to day, and their Militia are following. I am &ca.[77]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Skippack Camp, October 7, 1777.

Dear Sir: Congress having recommended it to me to send an Engineer to Fort Montgomery, I have instantly dispatched Lt. Colo. Radiere[78] upon that Service. He is the second in command of four Gentlemen sent out by Doctr. Franklin and Mr. Deane.

The Congress have transmitted me Copy of a letter from you to them, of the 29th. Septr., in which you express your doubts of being able to defend the posts[79] upon the North River with the force you will have left after detaching 2500 Men to this Army. Before I ordered this Detachment, I consulted those best acquainted with the Strength of the passes and they all agreed, that about two thousand Men at Peeks Kill and Fort

[77] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[78] Lewis de la Radière. He was lieutenant colonel and colonel of Engineers, Continental Army; died in 1779.

[79] Forts Clinton and Montgomery, on the west side of the Hudson and a little below West Point, were captured by Sir Henry Clinton October 6. Putnam, in command in the Highlands, was easily outwitted, and Clinton attacked and captured the forts before Putnam could manage a reenforcement. The British feinted an attack on Peekskill, drew 500 of Putnam's troops over to the east bank, reembarked, landed on the west bank, marched from Kings Ferry around the mountains, and attacked both the forts from the land side. The assault on Fort Montgomery lasted from 2 p. m. until dark, when the place was evacuated. The two Continental frigates guarding the chain in the river were burned. Gov. George Clinton was in command at Fort Montgomery and marched the remains of the garrison to New Windsor. His letter to Washington (October 9) and Putnam's two letters of October 8 put the best face possible upon a bungled defense.

Montgomery would be sufficient to repel any force that would probably be sent against you.

Now by your Return of the 5th. Septr. you would have 1800 effective rank and file left, after sending off the Detachment; besides these, the non Commissioned ought to be counted upon and some of the Invalids, for in the defence of Stationary posts, every Man that can lift a Musket must do his duty.

I think you will find that you have far over rated Genl. Clinton's force at New York, I am certain you have in regard to the late Reinforcements. But I imagine the thing has been tried before this time, as Colo. Hay has sent me an Express, informing me that the Ships went up the River and began to land their men upon the 4th. instant. I am anxious to hear from you. I have wrote to Govr. Livingston desiring him to send the Jersey Militia up the North River, as there can be no danger of an invasion in that State, the Enemy having shewn that their preparations were against you. I am etc.[80]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Camp Pawlins Mill, October 7, 1777.

Sir: I desire you will, immediately upon the receipt of this, detach Colo. Greene's[81] and Colo. Angell's[82] Regiments with their Baggage.[83] with orders to throw themselves into the Fort at Red Bank upon the Jersey Shore. This important post commands and defends the Chevaux de frize and unless Kept in

[80] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[81] Col. Christopher Greene, of the First Rhode Island Regiment. He was thanked and presented with a sword by Congress (Nov. 4, 1777) for his gallant defense of Red Bank, N. J.; killed in a skirmish with De Lancey's corps in Westchester County, N. Y., in May, 1781.

[82] Col. Israel Angell, of the Second Rhode Island Regiment. He retired in May, 1781.

[83] At this point the draft has the following crossed out: "I shall send down an Officer and a detachment of Artillery Men to work the heavy Cannon at the fort, therefore if there are any Men particularly attached"

our possession, our Vessels of War must quit their station and thereby leave the Enemy at liberty to weigh the Chevaux de frize and open the free Navigation of the River. These Regiments are not to take any Artillery with them. Genl. Greene has wrote a particular letter to Colo. Greene, in which he will find instructions. I desire the detachment may march with the utmost dispatch by the following Route. From the place where this reaches you to Bristol and from thence across Delaware to Burlington, from Burlington to Mount Holly, from Mount Holly to Haddenfield, from Haddenfield to Woodberry, from Woodberry to Red Bank. I am etc.[84]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Camp at Pawlins Mill, October 7, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with both yours of the 3d. and am sorry to find that so dastardly a spirit prevailing in the Navy, but I hope there will still be good men enough left to defend the Fort and obstructions till we can give them a decisive stroke by land. I have the pleasure to inform you, that we made a general attack upon the Enemy at Germantown upon the morning of the 4th. We surprised them and threw their whole Army into confusion, and had not the fogginess of the morning prevented us from seeing the advantage we had gained, it would have ended in a complete victory, as they themselves have confessed. However they have suffered considerably. Genl. Agnew was killed and Sr. William Erskine desperately wounded. Their return of killed and wounded amounts to upwards of 700. as we are informed by a person come out since the Action. We shall have a large Reinforcement from the Northward and Southward in a day or two, and you may assure the Officers

[84] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

of the Army and Navy, that no time shall be lost in following our blow effectually and thereby giving relief to all our posts. I think this may be so much sooner effected by keeping our whole force together and acting powerfully with them, that I shall pursue that course rather than detach a part to operate against their detachments. For you must be very sensible that if their Main Body is defeated, their small parties must fall of course. I beg you will communicate this Letter to the Gentlemen of the Navy and let them see how much depends upon their brave opposition to the last moment. I am &ca.

P. S. I have just received an Account that 200 Waggons went into Philada. with wounded; if so, the loss is more than I have mentioned.[85]

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Camp Pawlins Mill, October 7, 1777.

Sir: Upon Captn. Blewers[86] representation of the importance of Red Bank, I have determined to Garrison it immediately strongly with Continental Troops, who are now upon their march. Till they arrive, I beg you will do all in your power to keep possession of the Ground, should the Enemy attempt to take it. With the assistance of this force upon the land I hope you will be enabled to keep your Station with your fleet, and if you can do that, I have not the least doubt but we shall by our operations by land and Water oblige the Enemy to abandon Philadelphia. I have wrote to General Newcomb to assist the Garrison with as many Militia as he can spare. I am &c.

P. S. I intend to send down Captn. Mauduit[87] to command the Artillery. I beg you will afford him every assistance of Cannon and Stores, and if he should want a few Men to Work the

[85] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[86] Joseph Blewer, chairman of the Pennsylvania State Navy Board.
[87] Mauduit du Plessis.

Guns, I beg he may have such as have been used to it. I think you should not lose one moment in possessing the ground at Red Bank.[88]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Perkiomy, October 7, 1777.

Parole Milton. Countersigns Medway, Marlboro.

The state regiment from Virginia is to supply the place of the 9th. Regiment in Muhlenberg's brigade, and do duty there 'till further orders.

John Farndon of Col. Hartley's regiment, found guilty of the crime of *desertion,* and sentenced by the General Court Martial, held the 25th. of September last, to suffer death is to be executed to morrow at twelve o'clock.

The situation of the army, frequently not admitting, of the regular performance of divine service, on Sundays, the Chaplains of the army are forthwith to meet together, and agree on some method of performing it, at other times, which method they will make known to the Commander in Chief.

A General Court martial, to sit at nine o'clock this morning, at a Horseman's tent by the artillery park, for the trial of divers officers, accused of cowardice, and of all prisoners which shall be brought before them. The court to consist of four field officers and nine Captains. Col Brodhead is appointed president.

AFTER ORDERS

The troops are to march to morrow morning at eight o'clock.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Camp, Pawlins Mills, October 8, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit you an Account of an Action between the American Army and that of the British, laying at

[88] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Germantown, upon the Morning of the 4th. instant. Having obtained information of the Situation of the Enemy, we determined to endeavour to do something by way of surprise. We, accordingly, marched all night, and reached the Town by break of day. We attacked upon two Quarters, upon both of which, we were successful; but the Morning was so excessively foggy, that we could not see the Confusion the Enemy were in, and the advantage we had gained; and, fearing to push too far thro' a Strong Village, we retired after an engagement of two hours, bringing off all our Artillery with us. We did not know, till after the affair was over, how near we were to gaining a compleat victory; but, we have since learned from deserters and others that have come out, that preparations were making to retreat to Chester. While the action lasted, it was pretty severe. Our loss will amount, in killed and wounded, to upwards of three hundred. What that of the Enemy is we do not exactly know; but one deserter tells us, that, when he came away, the Returns amounted to upwards of 700, among which are Genl. Agnew killed, and Sr. Willm. Erskine badly wounded. Other Accounts say, that upwards of 200 Waggons went into Philadelphia, loaded with wounded; if this is true their loss is more than the deserter mentions. Upon the whole, our Men are in high Spirits, and much pleased with the fortune of the day, tho' not so compleatly lucky as could have been wished. I have the honor etc.[89]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Camp Pawlins Mill, October 8, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have lately recd. a letter from the secretary of the Board of War in which he complains that you have drawn Arms

[89] Contemporary copy is in an unidentified hand. The date is written over, so that it could be either October 7 or 8. The indorsement gives the date as the 8th.

for the full Complement of Henly's, Lee's and Jackson's Regiments when there is scarce any chance of their being compleated, I therefore desire if the matter is so, that you may return all the supernumerary Arms into the Magazine at Springfield or Brookfield. As you will undoubtedly have heard many and various Reports of the late Action upon the 4th. I will briefly relate the Circumstances. Having recd. certain,[90] information of the Situation of the Enemy at Germantown, it was thought that a favorable oppertunity presented itself of giving them a stroke by way of surprise. We accordingly marched all the Night of 3d. and arrived at the town a little after day Break. We attacked upon two quarters upon both of which we were successful, but it was so exceedingly foggy that we could neither see the Confusion into which the Enemy were thrown, neither could each of our Wings form a judgment of the advantage which the other had gained.[91] We continued the attack for two Hours and then retired to our Camp bringing off all our Artillery. We unhappily did not know how near we were to gaining a compleat Victory till the Affair was all over. We were informed that Genl. Howe was so dubious of the issue of the day that he had given orders to retreat to Chester in case of accident. The oposition was warm, our killed and wounded amount to near four hundred,[92] from the best Account we can obtain that of the Enemy much more considerable. Genl. Agnew certainly killed and it is said General Grant and Sir William Erskine badly wounded. All Accounts from people who have left the Philada. since the Action agree that great Numbers of wounded

[90] As first written the draft read: "I recd. information by means of an intercepted letter that the Enemy had detached part of their force to take possession of Billingsport, an unfinished Fort upon the Jersey side of the Delaware which commands the Chevaux de frise. This was judged a fortunate opportunity to endeavour to do something by way of surprise upon the part remaining at Germantown."

[91] "And fearing to push too far thro' a strong Village" appears in the draft.

[92] The draft gives the number as "three hundred."

have been carried in.[93] We have lost no Officer of distinction but Genl. Nash of North Carolina. The Enemy had possessed themselves of Billingsport upon the Jersey shore, from whence they could have annoyed our Shipping which protect the Chevaux de friese, but they abandoned it immediately after the Action, from whence I conclude that they cannot spare the detachments. I am, etc.[94] [MS. H. S.]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Pennibackers Mill, October 8, 1777.

Sir: As Genl How's Operations are in this Quarter and his Object in all probability fixed for this Campaign; I am induced to submit it to the consideration of Congress, If the Whole or a part of the Regiment of Artillery, commanded by Colo. Harrison[95] should not be immediately ordered to join this Army. In the late Actions, the Corps under Genl. Knox has suffered severely and it is so reduced by the Number of killed and wounded, that we are obliged to make drafts from the other Batallions, to supply their places. The measure I have ventured to submit, will not, from present appearances, be attended with any ill consequences, if carried into execution and the less so, as the State of Virginia, according to my information, is raising Another Regiment. Should it be thought adviseable, Congress will transmit their orders to Colo. Harrison. If the Regiment comes, they need not bring their Artillery. I have, etc.[96]

[93] The draft says that "Upwards of 200 Waggons went into Philadelphia loaded with wounded," and also gives the enemy's loss as 700, and that "Upon the whole, our Men are in high spirits and much pleased with the fortune of the day, tho not so completely lucky as could have been wished."

[94] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The draft, also in Tilghman's writing, differs widely in form from the above letter sent and is addressed on its face to Governor Trumbull and indorsed as sent to Heath.

[95] Col. Charles Harrison, of the First Continental Artillery. He retired in January, 1783.

[96] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Headquarters, October 8, 1777.

Sir: I this evening received your favour of this date, The Regiments under Cols. Greene and Angell are to proceed to Red Bank according to orders. I desire to be informed of their precise amount by this express, at daylight, tomorrow, and that you and Gen Huntington, will join me, with the Remainder, as early as you can. I am, etc.[97]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Pawlings Mill, October 8, 1777.

Sir: I send you the foregoing duplicate of mine of Yesterday to prevent any delay or disappointment from miscarriages, as it is of the utmost importance no time should be lost in forwarding the detachment to the place of its destination. The Army here marches this morning, from hence to the Baptist meeting House in Montgomery Township, whither you will direct your course by the Shortest Route and effect a junction as soon as possible. I am &ca.[98]

P. S. Here with is a letter of instructions to Col. Greene, which, please, immediately forward to him.[99]

To COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

Head Quarters, October 8, 1777.

Sir: I have directed Genl. Varnum to send your Regiment and that of Colo. Angell to Red Bank, by a Route which has been

[97] The text is from the *Magazine of American History*, vol. 7, p. 140.
[98] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[99] The P. S. is from the printed text in the *Magazine of American History*, vol. 7.

marked out to him. The command of that detachment will of course devolve upon you, with which you will proceed with all expedition and throw yourself into that place. When you arrive there you will immediately communicate your arrival to Colo. Smith, commander of the Garrison at Fort Mifflin, and Commodore Hazelwood, commander of the fleet in the River. You are to Cooperate with them in every measure necessary for the defence of the obstructions in the River and to counteract every attempt the Enemy may make for their removal. You will find a very good fortification at Red bank, but if any thing should be requisite to render it stronger or proportion it to the size of your Garrison, you will have it done. The cannon you will stand in need of, as much as can be spared, will be furnished from the Gallies and Fort Mifflin, from whence also you will derive Supplies of Military Stores. Capt. Blewer is charged with Supplying Provisions, you will apply to him for what you want, and as this is a matter on which much depends, I would wish you to inform yourself what stock there is, and to promote every precaution for securing a Sufficiency. I have sent Capt. Du Plessis,[1] with some Officers and Men to take the immediate direction of the Artillery for your Garrison. He is also to superintend any Works that may be wanted. If there should be any deficiency of men for the Artillery, the security of the Garrison will require you to assist him with a few additionals from your detachment.

You should lose not a moment's time in getting to the place of your destination and making every proper preparation for

[1] Chevalier Thomas Antoine Mauduit du Plessis, major and aide to Knox. He fought bravely at the Battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and as an engineer he improved the fortification at Red Bank. After the desperate defense of that post he volunteered and succeeded in blowing up the magazine without any of the usual implements for such a piece of work. Congress made him a brevet lieutenant colonel, and on his return to France in November, 1778, directed the President to present to him a written testimonial of the high esteem Congress entertained for him for zeal, bravery, and good conduct while in America.

its defence. Any delay might give the Enemy an opportunity of getting there before you, which could not fail being of the most fatal consequence. If in the progress of your march you should fall in with any detachment of the Enemy bending towards the same object, and likely to gain it before you, and from intelligence should have reason to think yourself equal to the task, you will by all means attack them, and endeavour by that mean to disappoint their design. I have written to Genl. Newcomb of the Jersey Militia, to give you all the aid in his power, for which you will accordingly apply, when necessary.

Upon the whole Sir, you will be pleased to remember that the post with which you are now intrusted is of the utmost importance to America, and demands every exertion you are capable of, for its security and defence, The whole defence of the Delaware absolutely depends upon it, and consequently all the Enemy's hopes of keeping Philadelphia, and finally succeeding in the object of the present Campaign. Influenced by these considerations, I doubt not your regard to the Service and your own reputation, will prompt you to every possible effort to accomplish the important end of your trust and frustrate the intentions of the Enemy.[2]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, October 8, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your favour of 2d. Instt., I received Yesterday, and I understand that General Varnum with his Brigade got as far as Coryell's Ferry last night. I expect such Measures will be taken as not to let the Army under Genl. Gates suffer at present for want of Flour; and that things may be put in such a train that a circumstance of that kind cannot possibly happen in

[2] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton, who dated these instructions October 7 at the beginning and October 8 at the end.

future. I sincerely wish with you, that a better Regulation could take place in the Commissary Department; as, either by a fault in its constitution or an unpardonable neglect in the Executive part, this Army has been clogged and retarded in some of its most important and interesting Marches, until the opportunity of doing what was intended, was intirely lost. I expect your Exertions in calling out the Connecticut Militia may have its proper Weight; tho' I cannot be of opinion that the Enemy have left any thing like the number of men at New York, which your intelligence informs You of.

In pursuance of a concerted Plan, we Marched on friday night last to attack Genl. Howe's Army which lay at 12 or 13 Miles distance. We drove in their Pickets about 6 in the morning, the men pursued with great Eagerness and bravery and Surmounted every opposition; the Enemy were routed in the greatest confusion several Miles, we passed thro' their Encampments and took some pieces of Cannon; in short, we were flattered with every appearance of a most glorious and decesive action, when to my great surprise our men began to give way; which, when the Line was one broke became pretty general and could not with our utmost Exertions be prevented, and the only thing left was to draw them off in the best manner we could, which was effected without any very considerable loss, as we brought off our cannon &ca. In this action Brigr. Genl. Nash (of the Carolina forces) was mortally wounded and several others of great Bravery, but inferior note were Wounded, some dangerously and some Slightly. General Agnew on the side of the Enemy, I believe, is killed on the spot, and report says that one or two other General Officers are wounded. Upon the whole I have no doubt but their loss was at least equal, if not much greater than ours, and it has served to convince our

people, that when they make an attack, they can confuse and Rout even the Flower of the British Army, with the greatest ease, and that they are not that invincible Body of Men which many suppose them to be. The accounts coming in hourly from Philadelphia, make the Loss of the Enemy much greater than we Imagined, they say that more than 200 Waggons came in Loaded with their Wounded, that Genl. Agnew is killed, and Generals Erskine and Grant badly Wounded, besides several Colonels and Officers of note.

I have spoke to Mr. Boudinot about some Flour, which was to be sent into our prisoners at New York; this may be applied to any uses of the Army which you think necessary.

By a Letter from Mr. Hawkes Hay, I understand the Enemy have pushed a number of men up the North River and landed on the East side, in Expectation I suppose of finding few or no men at your Post. I am fully satisfied that every thing in your power will be done towards calling in Reinforcements and making a vigorous defence, assuring you, that the number of the Enemy cannot possibly be great, even should they leave New York, Staten and Long Island quite bare. I am etc.[3]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG

Head Quarters, October 8, 1777.

Sir: You are immediately to send Genl. Potter with about 600 of your militia across the Schuylkill, with directions to keep himself in such a situation as will be most convenient for interrupting the enemy's intercourse, between Philadelphia and Chester &ca. He is to take every method to keep himself well acquainted with what is doing, and to embrace every

[3] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

opportunity of cutting off the convoys and intercepting the dispatches passing between their army and shipping; and to use every method to prevent their getting supplies from the country around them, and in a word to give them all the annoyance and disturbance he can. I would not mean to bend him to any precise position or mode of acting, to answer the ends proposed; but leave him to his own discretion to persue such measures as circumstances shall point out. It appears to me however, that Newtown Square[4] would be a good general place of rendezvous, from which he might send out his detachments, as he should judge proper, and to which they might resort, as often as any plan or event should make it requisite. It is not my wish he should be stationary; because by keeping in one place, he would not only be more liable to a surprise and attack; but would have it less in his power to perplex and injure the enemy. These however are only intended as hints, which he can use and improve as his own judgment shall direct. As a few horse will be extremely useful with this detachment, I would have you send such a part of those with you, as you and General Potter shall deem sufficient.

Be pleased to communicate this letter to him; to which I shall only add, that, I confide in General Potters utmost vigilance against being surprised, which he may with certainty expect the enemy will attempt. For this purpose, he will be careful to keep continually out proper scouts and patroles of horse and foot. I am etc.

P. S. If Genl. Potters Brigade does not greatly exceed the number mentioned for the detachment, let him take his whole Brigade with him. I shall expect to be punctually advised of every thing that happens or any intelligence that comes to his knowledge.[5]

---

[4] Newtown Square is in Delaware County, 10 or 15 miles west of Philadelphia.
[5] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL LEWIS DE LA RADIERE

Skippack Camp, October 8, 1777.

Sir: I have this Evening received the following Resolution of Congress passed the 6th. instant.

That General Washington be directed, if the situation of his army will admit, to send one of the four Engineers to do duty at Fort Montgomery and the defences on Hudson's River.

In Consequence of this Resolve, I desire you will immediately proceed to Fort Montgomery and there take upon you the direction of such Works, as shall be deemed necessary by the commanding Officer in that Department. I am &ca.[6]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, October 8, 1777.

Sir: I yesterday received certain intelligence, that the enemy had proceeded up Hudson's River from New York, and landed a body of men at Verplanks point, a few miles below Peekskill. This movement fully explains those appearances, which lately induced Genl. Dickinson to apprehend a second incursion into the Jerseys; and gives reason to believe, that, instead of that, the enemy meditate a serious blow against our posts in the Highlands. This circumstance is somewhat alarming, as the situation of our affairs, this way, has obliged us to draw off so large a part of our force from Peekskill, that what now remains there, may perhaps prove inadequate to the defence of it. Should any disaster happen, it is easy to foresee the most unhappy consequences. The loss of the Highland passes would be likely to involve the reduction of the forts. This would open the navigation of the river, and enable the enemy, with facility, to throw

[6] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

their force into Albany, get into the rear of General Gates, and either oblige him to retreat, or put him between two fires. The Success of the present attempt upon Peekskill, may, in its consequences, intirely change the face of our Northern affairs, and throw them into a very disagreeable and unfavorable train.

I am confident no arguments need be used, to dispose you to contribute every effort in your power, to obviate an evil of so great magnitude; and, as I do not conceive there can be now any danger of your militia being wanted at home for the internal security of your State, I am persuaded, you will readily consent to my request, that as large a part of them, as can be prevailed upon to go, may immediately march, with all expedition, to the aid of Genl. Putnam. At this distance, unacquainted with what may have taken place, I cannot give any particular directions to regulate their march; they must govern themselves by circumstances, and act according to the intelligence and orders they may receive from General Putnam. In order to this; if you should think it proper to send a body agreeable to my request, it would be advisable that the Officer under whose command they go, should without delay advise General Putnam of his intended approach and desire his instructions how to proceed. In the mean time his rout must be directed towards the Clove and thence towards New windsor.

I shall be happy, if your views and mine concur in this matter, and that you may be able to afford any material succour to a post, the fate of which is of such essential importance to the prosperity of our Northern concerns; as in a great measure to threaten their ruin if it should be lost, and the disappointment of all those flattering prospects, which our late successes in that quarter have afforded us. I have the honor etc.[7]

[7] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Perkiomy, October 8, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

The Brigade Majors are to make returns to morrow, of the number of arms and accoutrements, wanting in the several regiments of their brigades, in order to their being completed without delay. They are also at the same time to make returns of the number of tin cannisters now in their brigades.

The battalion of militia from Virginia, commanded by Major Pickett,[8] are to be attached to, and do duty with, General Woodford's brigade.

The men's pouches are to be well greased at least once a week, especially that part of the flap which preserve them from injury in case of rain. The commanding officers of corps will pay attention to this.

The commanding officers of corps are immediately to select the most suitable of their men, and set them to making Mockasins for their corps. The Commissaries are to order the skins of the heads and legs of bullocks to be taken off, and applied to that use so far as they will go. The Commissaries also are to issue the raw hides for the purpose, upon the returns of the officers commanding corps.

John Farndon of Col. Hartley's regiment, sentenced to suffer death, for the crime of "desertion to the enemy," and who was to have been executed yesterday, is to be executed to morrow at 12 o'clock. A detachment of Sixty men from each brigade is to parade at the park of Artillery at that time, to attend the execution.

[8] Maj. William Pickett.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Towamensing, October 9, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

The General Court Martial whereof Col. Brodhead is president, is to sit to morrow morning, at eight o'clock, the members to attend precisely at that time, at the horseman's tent, by the artillery park.

By General Orders of Sept. 13th. the distribution of tents was thus directed.

One soldier's tent for the field officers of each regt.
One ditto for every four commissioned officers.
One ditto for every eight Serjeants, Drummers and Fifers.
One ditto for every eight privates.

The commanding officers of regiments are instantly to examine into their number of tents, and cause all beyond the foregoing allowance to be collected and delivered to their brigade quarter masters, in the first place to supply those corps in their brigades which are short of that allowance, and the residue to be delivered over to the Quarter Master General, to supply these militia, and such corps as are destitute. The Commander in Chief expects, the General officers and those commanding brigades will see this order carried into effectual and immediate execution.

Brigadier General Nash will be interred, at ten o'clock this forenoon, with military honours, at the place where the road the troops marched in, yesterday comes into the great road.

The execution of John Farndon is to be postponed till to morrow morning.

The General Officers are, without delay, to have the rolls of officers called, and such as are absent, and not sick, wounded

or on command, are to be ordered peremptorily to join their corps; and those who are absent without leave, are to be immediately reported to the Commander in Chief. They are also to report the number of blankets, stockings, shoes, and other necessaries to complete one suit to each man.

True field returns of the troops are to be made under the immediate inspection of the General officers. For this purpose, the several corps are to be mustered, and the rolled called; and if the weather permit, these returns are to be made to morrow-noon, signed by the Major Generals, or officers commanding divisions.

The Brigadiers, or officers commanding brigades, are immediately to report, the number of men, of those returned *missing* after the action of the 4th. instant, who have joined their brigades since the returns of the *killed* &c. and these reports they will continue to make daily to the Commander in Chief.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Qrts. at Frederick Wampols,[9] October 9, 1777.

Sir: I received your Letter early this Morning by the return of the Express. Since the order given for the march of Colo. Green's and Angels Regiments some circumstances have cast up, which from appearances make so large a number of Continental Troops at Red Bank unnecessary, I therefore desire that you will on receipt of this, send the express to Colo Angel to return immediately with his Regiment, and to join this Army, as soon as he can. I am much surprized to find the Troops were on the Road to Coriels ferry, and only ten Miles from it, after I had pointed out the proper Rout in the most plain and direct

[9] Frederick Wampole's was at Towamencin, Pa. The house is not now standing.

terms. You will write Colo Greene on the subject, and order him to pursue the way mentioned in his Instructions. He will loose no Time in getting to Red Bank with his Regiment. My Intention was, that you and Genl. Huntington should join me this Morning with the Remainder of the Troops, and so I thought I expressed myself. You are to do it. I am, etc.[10] [H.L.]

*To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Fredk. Wampools, October 9, 1777.

Dear Sir: A Person of the name of Patterson (an Inhabitant of Wilmington) can give you a particular Acct. of the Situation, strength &ca. of the Enemy at that place; from whence you may judge of the practicability of attempting something by way of Surprize (if your numbers are adequate) upon the garrison. After having made every necessary enquiry proper for an enterprize of this kind let me know the result by an Officer and whether the undertaking is feasible with, or without, a little aid from hence.

Your enquiries into these matters should be made with much Circumspection, to avoid giving alarm, and your Manœuvres should be towards the Enemy and retrogade occasionally to lull them into security unless your own strength is sufficient to effect the Work, in that case the rapidity of the attempt may perhaps contribute to the Success of it.

You will readily perceive that nothing herein, is positive, but altogether discretionary; to be undertaken, or not, as circumstances and Information shall warrant. If a Successful blow could be aim'd at Wilmington, very happy consequences would

[10] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, who indorsed on the cover of this letter: "If the weather should prove unfit for Troops to march, you will remain where you are, till it is suitable. By command Robt. H. Harrison."

result from it, besides possessing ourselves of the wounded that now are there for the purpose of Exchanging for such Prisoners of ours as are in the Enemy's hands; but in the midst of this it is not to be forgotten, that the great object of your expedition is to deprive the Enemy of Supplies from Chester County and to Interrupt their Convoys from Chester Town, Wilmington &ca. whilst our defence upon the River, obliges them to have recourse to a Transportation of necessaries by Land from their Shipping. Watch the Communication between Phila. and the Enemy's Shipping well, and let me hear from you frequently, especially on the Subject of the proposed Expedition. Patterson can point out others to you (Inhabitants of Wilmington) who he thinks would give every aid in their power; but then, danger may attend the Comn. of the Scheme to too many. If an Idea was thrown out that the Corps you Commanded consisted of the Eastern Shore Militia returning, it might possibly remove suspicion of the real design (if it should be found practicable to make an attempt upon the Enemy at Wilmington) with your Troops alone. I am etc.

To COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

Skippack Camp, October 9, 1777.

Sir: I have received some accounts from Jersey which makes it unnecessary to send more than one Regiment there at present. You will therefore proceed to Red Bank[11] with your own with all dispatch, and send Colo. Angell's back to join General Varnum. I am, etc.[12]

[11] On October 10 Alexander Hamilton wrote, by Washington's direction, a letter to Brig. Gen. Silas Newcomb, of the Rhode Island Militia, requesting him to hold his troops in readiness to march to Red Bank. This letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[12] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THOMAS McKEAN[13]

Skippack Camp, October 10, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of the 8th. from New Ark and most Sincerely wish, that your exertions to rouse the inhabitants of the Delaware State, had been attended with better Success. They certainly labour under very peculiar difficulties; The Enemy in possession of their Capital; a vast number of disaffected and the Continental Army at present at too great a distance to Support them. The latter is a circumstance that cannot at present be helped, for you yourself very judiciously observe, that perhaps detaching part of our force might occasion the loss of a Battle, which would endanger the Liberties of the whole Continent. I have sent Genl. Potter with a Brigade of Pennsylvania Militia, to stop the intercourse between Chester County and Philadelphia, and to endeavour to intercept Convoys going between Chester and Philadelphia. If I could spare the force, I would fain aim a blow at Wilmington, which I think would prove an easy conquest. If you think you could engage three or four hundred or more of the Militia of your State, to Assemble at a concerted time and certain places within reach of Wilmington, I should be strongly induced to send as many Continental Troops as would be sufficient to lead them, and to accomplish the Business. But this must be managed with Secrecy and address to prevent the least Suspicion. I beg you will think Seriously of this Matter and let me know, whether you have any prospect of success, in getting your people together.

I fancy the Accounts given to you by the Quakers are pretty near the truth, as they are confirmed by variety of others, thro' different Channels. If the uncommon Fogginess of the Morning

[13]Acting President of Delaware.

and the Smoke, had not hindred us from seeing our own advantage, I am convinced it would have ended in a compleat Victory. But we must not repine, on the Contrary rejoice, that we have given a Severe Blow to our Enemy's and that our Ranks are as full and rather fuller than they were before the engagement. I have the honor etc.[14]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Towamensing, October 10, 1777.

Parole Burlington. Countersigns Cambridge, Danbury.

A court of enquiry consisting of four members, and Major General Lord Stirling President, to sit at 12 o'clock to day, at the president's quarters, and examine into the conduct of Major General Sullivan in the expedition commanded by him to Staten Island in the month of August last. Major Taylor[15] and others, who can give information of this matter are to attend: But if the court see cause to postpone the examination for want of evidence, after hearing what Major Taylor has to urge on that head, they are to do it accordingly. Genl. McDougall, General Knox, Colonel Spencer,[16] and Col. Clark[17] are appointed members.

The General being informed, that much provision is wasted by the irregular manner in which it is drawn and cooked, does, in earnest terms, exhort the officers commanding Corps to look into and prevent abuses of this kind, and in very express terms also desires that they will see that their men have provisions by them, ready for any emergency. And more over that they will be particularly attentive to the execution of orders, both as to

[14] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[15] Maj. John(?) Taylor, of the Second Canadian Regiment.

[16] Col. Oliver Spencer, of an Additional Continental regiment.

[17] Col. Thomas Clark, of the First North Carolina Regiment. He was wounded at Stono Ferry; taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C.; retired in January, 1783.

time and manner, ardently wishing that the necessity of a rigid compliance with them, may be deeply impressed, upon the mind of every officer, who ought to consider how impracticable it is, to carry on any military operation without it. It is not for every officer to know the principle upon which every order issues, and to judge how far it may, or may not be dispensed with, or suspended; but their duty to carry them into execution with the utmost punctuality and exactness. They are also to consider, that military movements are like the working of a clock, and will go equally regular and easy, if every officer does his duty, but without it, be as easily disordered; because neglect in any one part (like the stopping of a wheel) disorders the whole. The General expects therefore, that every officer will duly consider the importance of this observation. Their own reputation, and the duty they owe their country claim it of them, and he earnestly calls upon them to do it.

The General directs that the arms shall be put in the best order without loss of time, ammunition completed, and every thing in readiness against a sudden call, if it should be made upon us; those who want arms are to be supplied immediately, by order from the Adjutant General: But at the foot of each return, an account is to be rendered how the deficiency arises.

Promotions, in consequence of the late deaths and resignations, will now take place as a reward to the merit of deserving officers. The succession in which they are to be made, agreeable to General orders, is to be reported by the General officers of each division, or brigade (after consulting the field officers of the regiment they belong to) Officers who are under the imputation of *cowardice,* or whose characters in other respects are impeachable, are to be noted; as the General is determined to discriminate between the good and bad. This order is to be confined to promotion. No new appointments will take place at this time in the weak state of the regiments.

AFTER ORDERS

Returns are to be brought in to morrow morning, of the number of rounds, of cartridges per man, with which each brigade is now furnished.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp, 26 Miles from Phila., October 10, 1777.

Sir: On Wednesday Evening, I received the honor of your Letter of the 7th with its several Inclosures.

The providing of suitable Quarters for the Troops during the Winter, demands our attention; but I confess, it is difficult to say where they will be. Sundry circumstances may occur, in the course of the Campaign, to render any Provision which might now be thought of, altogether improper.

In respect to Genl. Putnam's Letter, tho' the Accounts transmitted by Colo. Hawks Hay indicate, that the Enemy had some attack in contemplation; yet I cannot but think, the Force the General mentions to have been at New York was greatly exaggerated. The highest number of the Reinforcements said to have arrived, is three Thousand and these mentioned to be half boys. Other Reports make it much less, and some as low as five or six Hundred. However, be it what it may, it is not in my power to grant him aid. Had the Reinforcement arrived, before the Troops marched from Peekskill, so many might not have been ordered from thence; but the case was otherwise, or at least, I was not apprized of their arrival, and the Detachments from thence, were directed by the advice of my Genl Officers, who had under consideration, the State of the whole force at that post and its dependencies according to a General return. At the same time, I urged Genl Putnam to call in all his out posts, and to write in pressing terms to Govr. Trumbull, to assist him with some Militia. I have not heard a Single syllable

more of the Troops or Fleet mentioned by Colo. Hawks Hay, except a vague report to day, that a number, supposed to be about Fifteen Hundred had landed on this side the River at Haverstraw. If the fact is so, it is probable they mean to pass thro' the Clove and invest the Forts. I have great confidence in the activity and bravery of Governor Clinton, and I trust, if such is their view, they will meet at least with a Spirited, if not a Successful opposition. I have sent up Lt Colo. Radiere, One of the Engineers, with orders to direct such Other Works as may appear necessary.

There was a very severe Cannonade on Wednesday Night. It began about 12 OClock and continued till yesterday Morning between 7 and 8. I have not learnt the occasion, but from the direction, suppose it was at Fort Mifflin or an Engagement between our armed Vessels and the Enemy's Ships, which probably were making a second attempt against the Chevaux de frizes. I have determined to maintain the post at Red Bank, if it can be done, and have detached Colo. Greene there, with his Regiment of Rhode Island Troops, consisting of about Two Hundred and Twelve Effective privates. I have also written to Genl Newcomb of Jersey, pressing him to give all the aid he can from the Militia.

Since my Letter of the 7th we have been joined by more of the Virginia Militia. The whole number now in Camp amounts to about 1100. Many of their Arms are indifferent, and almost the whole are destitute of Pouches and Other necessary Accoutrements.

On Sunday the Enemy evacuated Billingsport. They left all our Cannon, but burnt the Platforms and Carriages.

Inclosed you will receive a Letter addressed to me by Colo. Portail. Congress will judge of the Contents, and decide upon them as they may think they Merit.

The Military Chest is nearly exhausted, not having more than Ten thousand Dollars in It, and a large part of the Army is to pay for the Month of August. Besides their claims, large

sums are wanted by the Quarter Master General and for other purposes. Congress, I hope, will order such immediate Supply to be forwarded to the Pay Master Genl., as shall be in their power.

October 11.

I wish to know what Stores of Lead we have and what expectations of further Supplies. I am rather uneasy on this head, as I have not been able to obtain satisfaction on some inquiries, within the course of a few days. The Cannonade mentioned above, was between our Gallies and a Detachment of the Enemy, who were attempting to throw up a Battery at Webbs or the lowest ferry on Schuylkill. It has been repeated this Morning. Their design in erecting this Battery probably is to cover their passage to Province Island, from whence by occupying the Grounds about the Pest Houses, they may expect to annoy Fort Mifflin.

Our distress for want of Shoes and stockings is amazingly great, particularly for want of the former. On this Account we have a great many Men, who cannot do duty and several detained at the Hospitals for no other Cause. I must request Congress to continue their exertions to releive us, and to direct every supply of these and other necessaries to be forwarded as soon as they possibly can after they are collected. It will be proper to send them on, as fast as they can be procured, without waiting to make up a considerable quantity to be brought at one time.

I was this morning honored with your Favors of the 9th and their several Inclosures.[18] I feel in the most sensible manner, the

[18] Hancock's letter (October 9) stated his satisfaction that everything had been done at Germantown to insure success: "Something must still be left to Fortune. It is not in Mortals to *command* Success. But permit me to say, Sir, you have done more on this Occasion, You have *deserved* it."

The inclosures included the resolve of October 8, thanking Washington for his "wise and well concerted attack upon the enemy's army near Germantown." Congress also resolved that Henry Laurens and Thomas Heyward be added to the committee appointed "to carry into execution the resolution of Congress ordering a medal to be struck and presented to Genl. Washington." No further information appears in the *Journals of the Continental Congress*. The medal was never struck.

honorable approbation Congress have been pleased to give of my conduct and that of the Army under my command in the Action on the 4th Inst. Nor am I less indebted to you, Sir, for the polite mode, in which you have conveyed their Sentiments. I shall communicate the Resolve upon the Subject to the Army and hope, if a favorable opportunity offers, under the Smiles of Providence, they will merit by more Substantial Services, the further applause of their Country.

The Resolution of the 8th for preventing supplies and intelligence being carried to the Enemy, appears to me to be a salutary one, and I hope it will be attended with the most beneficial consequences.[19] That it may be known among the Inhabitants, who are in this Neighbourhood and who have been guilty of such practices, I would wish to receive several printed Copies, that they may be distributed in proper places. I have &c.

P. S. I have just now received a line from the Pay Master Genl. on the Subject of Money which I inclose.[20]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Towamensing, October 11, 1777.

Parole Andover. Countersigns Bedford, Concord.

The Court of enquiry of which Lord Stirling is president, now sitting at the president's quarters, is to inquire into the charge against Brigadier General Wayne—viz: "That he had timely notice of the enemy's intention to attack the troops under his command on the night of the 20th. Ult. and notwithstanding that intelligence, he neglected making a disposition until it was too late either to annoy the enemy, or make

[19] The resolves of October 8 granted Washington power to arrest all persons carrying intelligence or supplies to the enemy and conferred on courts-martial the power to punish such offenses by death or other punishment; also persons spreading false intelligence were to be apprehended and punished by either civil or military authority. These powers were to remain in force until Jan. 1, 1778. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Oct. 8, 1777.)

[20] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

a retreat without the utmost danger and confusion." The president will give notice of the time when the court can enter on the enquiry; when the parties and witnesses are to attend.

Twice a week (Wednesdays and Saturdays) the officers of each company are carefully to inspect the arms, ammunition and accoutrements of their men, to see that they are in perfect order and that nothing is wanting. At the first inspection they are to take an exact account of every article belonging to each man; and if afterwards any be missing, they are immediately to report the same to the officer commanding their regiment, that the matter may be enquired into, if he judges it proper, by a regimental court martial, and the delinquent punished if deserving it, and charged with the articles lost, to be deducted from his wages.

The militia from the Counties of Prince William, Culpepper, Loudoun, and Berkley, in the State of Virginia are to be formed into a brigade, and be under the command of Col. William Crawford. The Qr Mr. General and Commissary General are to appoint persons therein, to do the duties of their respective departments.

All the troops that came from Peek's-kill under the command of Generals McDougall, Varnum and Huntington (Malcom's regiment excepted) are to be thrown into two brigades, in such manner as those Gentlemen shall think best; a report of which is to be made to the Commander in Chief for his further order.

Col. Malcom's regiment is to join General Conway's brigade.

Twelve light horse with an officer are to mount guard every day with the picquets and be disposed of at the different picquets for the purpose of conveying early intelligence in such a way as the Major General of the day shall direct.

The commanding officers of all those companies which were raised as part of the sixteen additional battalions, and at

different times annexed to other regiments, are to make immediate returns, to the Adjutant General, of their strength, and in what regiments they are now doing duty.

The Commander in Chief has the pleasure to inform the army, that Congress have, in a unanimous resolve, expressed their thanks to the officers and men concerned in the attack, on the enemy near Germantown on the 4th instant, for their brave exertions on that occasion; and hopes the approbation of that honorable body, will stimulate them to still nobler efforts on every future occasion.

Captain Paul Parker of Col. Hartley's regiment, is appointed to do the duty of Brigade Major, in General Wayne's brigade, 'till further orders, and is to be respected and obeyed as such.

All firing of guns is absolutely forbidden, without licence first obtained, from the Major General of the day and the instant a gun is fired, a serjeant and file of men shall be sent, to catch the villain, who is thus wasting ammunition, and alarming the camp. All officers are strictly required to see this order put in execution.

To JOHN PAGE

Head Qrs. 26 Miles from Philad., October 11, 1777.

Dr. Sir: Your favor of the 27th. I received yesterday Afternoon. In respect to public matters, I wrote you on the 2d. Inst,[21] and referred you to my Letter of a prior date to Genl. Nelson. I have now to inform you, that on the Morning of the 4th. we made a general Attack upon the Enemy, who lay encamped in and near German Town. The Action lasted Two Hours and Forty Minutes, during which, we drove them several times, and every appearance promised a favourable, and a happy day. It is with pain, I am constrained to add, that after this, and at a moment when Victory was ready to decide in our favor,

[21] See Washington's letter to John Page, Oct. 3, 1777, *ante*.

our Troops retreated and left the field, which they had gained by a brave and spirited conduct, without being forced to the measure by the Enemy's Arms. I can only assign one reason for their retreat. Unfortunately, the day was overcast by a dark and heavy fog, which prevented our Columns from discovering each Others movements, and from improving the advantages, which they had separately obtained. Had it not been for this circumstance, I am fully persuaded, the Enemy would have sustained a total defeat. Our loss, upon the occasion, was pretty considerable, having had several Officers and Men killed and wounded, and others taken, who by means of the Fog were separated from the Columns to which they belonged. Genl. Nash of North Carolina was among the wounded and died since. I cannot ascertain the Enemy's loss, but the concurring Accounts of persons, who have left philadelphia since the action and those of Deserters make it very great, from Fifteen to Two Thousand five Hundred. From every information Genl. Agnew was slain and it is the common report, that Two Other Genl. Officers were wounded, one mortally. Our Troops are in good spirits, and I hope on a future occasion we shall be more fortunate.

Capn. Rowland is now here. He is to make some Experiments to day on the subject you mention, and I shall be ready to pay him every attention his ingenuity may merit.[22] I am, etc.[23]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Skippack Camp, October 11, 1777.

Dear Sir: I received a line from Colo. Hay, dated the 4th. instant, in which he informed me that the Enemy had landed at Verplanks point. The Express, who was stationed at Kings

[22] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[23] The editor is indebted to the kindness of Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J., for the text of this letter.

Ferry, came off and also informs me that a party landed at the same time upon the West side of the River. I have not received a line from you respecting the matter, which makes me conclude that your dispatches have been intercepted by some of the disaffected upon the Road. If this reaches you, I beg I may hear from you immediately. I have just received a letter from Governor Livingston of the 8th. instt., in which he informs me, that he had, in consequence of my request, ordered three thousand Jersey Militia to march immediately to the Highlands, and I am not without hopes that part of them will arrive before the Enemy have made too great progress. I am &ca.[24]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Skippack Camp, October 11, 1777.

Sir: I received yours of the 19th. informing of the occasion of the late firing. I imagine the Enemy still presist in their attempt, as the firing has continued by intervals ever since.[25] As the rear of the Fort is only defended by a picket Work, I think you ought to lose no time in throwing up a Bank against the picket, which wou'd strengthen it and make it defensible against Shot. If some blinds were thrown up, within the Area of the Fort they wou'd be a security against Shells, of which I think you are in more danger than from Shot, you seem apprehensive, if the Enemy possess province Island, that your Men

[24] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The letter sent was an A. L. S. and is stated to be in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society.

[25] "Two days ago [October 9] the Enemy erected a Battery at the mouth of Schuylkill, to secure the passage at Webbs Ferry. The Commodore ordered several Galleys to attack it for a considerable time, and after very little firing the Enemy ceas'd having lost several men. . . . Last night the Enemy crossed Webb Ferry and erected a redoubt opposite the Fort within two Musket shots of the Blockhouse. Early in the Morning it was discovered and the Commodore immediately order'd three Galleys and one of the Floating Batteries to attack the redoubt which they did very warmly. The garrison soon surrendered, but another party of British approaching, Lt. Col. Smith opened fire upon them, whereupon the garrison that had surrendered fled and only one lieutenant, one ensign and fifty six privates were held. One of the chevaux de frise was dragged up by the British."—*William Bradford and John Hazelwood to Washington,* Oct. 11, 1777. This letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

must quit their Barracks, in that case you should think of finding out some more secure place of Sheltering them. I cannot at present think of any place better than between the East face of the Stone Fort and the lower Battery, they will at least be safe there until an attack begins from the Water. I desired Captn. Blewer, who went from hence Yesterday, to caution the Commodore against an unnecessary expenditure of Ammunition and beg that you wou'd also be careful in that point, for should the Enemy cut off your intercourse with us, you will find the want of it.[26] I am etc.

P. S. Should the Enemy get possession of the ground near the Pest Houses, what effect wou'd their fire have upon Shipping? If this ground would be advantageous to us, do you think part of your garrison, part of that intended for Red Bank, and some militia from Jersey could possess and defend it? It is my wish, that Colo. Greene and you, in concert with the Gentlemen of the Navy, would turn your attention to every place which will contribute to the defence of the Water obstructions, and if it is in my power to afford assistance I will do it.[27]

To MAJOR JOHN JAMESON

Head Quarters, October 11, 1777.

Sir: You are immediately to proceed with the detachment under your command to Chester County, and there collect as

[26] Lieutenant Colonel Smith had written to Washington (October 9): "I shall in that case be oblig'd to cover my men, and should they keep up their fire at night, it will oblige us to sleep in the open air, which will soon destroy my small party. I have already sent away 6 men and one Officer Sick and this day shall send off 12 Men and 2 Officers Sick, besides this we have 7 more in Garrison unfit for duty; however, if they keep their men in the Marshes two or three days, they must in this weather become equally sickly. From the Number of the Enemy we saw on the Shore, I am of Opinion they have at least 750 men, perhaps 1000 with them. I have now 200 Effective men in Garrison. The Number of wounded in last Saturday's engagement [at Germantown], by every Account we can get from the City, exceed 1200." Tench Tilghman has noted on this letter: "Write to Newcomb to take Boats of the Creeks. Advise Colo. Smith to build Cover for the men under the East Face of the Fort." Colonel Smith's letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[27] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

many horses as you can find, proper for the service of the light dragoons. You are also to make collections from the inhabitants, of as many blankets, shoes, Stockings and other articles of covering and cloathing, which are wanted for the use of the army, as you can possibly procure, giving receipts, if required, of what you take and at all events keeping an exact list of the names of the persons from whom you get them, and the number or quantity you get from each, which you are to report to me, in order that a future settlement may be made with the proprietors. In the prosecution of this business, you are to endeavour to make a discrimination between the well affected and disaffected inhabitants. Taking from the former with a more sparing and indulgent hand than from the latter; as far as this can be done consistent with a proper attention to our wants and necessities, which you well know to be great and pressing. I have written to General Potter, desiring him to give you all the aid in his power, you will accordingly apply to him for such assistance as you may stand in need of, for the more effectual execution of the business you are sent upon.[28]

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Skippack Camp, October 11, 1777.

Sir: Colo. Smith informs me that the Enemy have been raising Batteries near the Landing place at Webbs Ferry, with an intent to cover their passage over to Province Island. If the Battery is erected upon the meadow or upon the Wharf, it may be much injured or the approach to it from the City rendered very difficult by cutting the meadow banks in five or six places from the mouth of Schuylkill up to the mouth of Hollander's Creek and laying the whole Country under Water. If the Dyke that

[28] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

dams out Hollanders Creek was likewise cut, it would contribute much to raise the Water. This should be done in the night, and when it is once effected, the Gallies might keep any persons from repairing the breaches. I beg this may be done as speedily as possible and with secrecy. As the security of the Fleet and the obstructions depends upon keeping possession of Fort Mifflin and Red Bank, I hope you will Cooperate with the Gentlemen in the Land Service, and endeavour to make use of every mean to effect so salutary a measure. I am etc.

P. S. Was any thing ever done towards destroying the Hay upon the meadows below Philadelphia, I think, I recommended it to you by Colo. Smith when he went down.[29]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Towamensing, October 12, 1777.

Parole Firmness. Countersigns Courage, Conquest.

Major Lockhart[30] of the 3rd. North Carolina regiment is promoted to the rank of Lieut. Colonel in the eighth regiment of the said state, in the room of Lieut. Col Ingram resigned.[31]

Capt. Henry Dixon of the 1st. North Carolina regiment, is promoted to the rank of Major in the 3rd. regiment of said state, in the room of Major Lockhart promoted.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentences of a General Court Martial, held the 3rd. instant whereof Col Josiah Parker was president.

Ensign Casson[32] of the 4th. Virginia regiment, charged with "Accusing Ensign Ford[33] of Cowardice." Also with "Getting

[29] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

[30] Maj. Samuel Lockhart. He resigned Oct. 19, 1777, and is stated by Heitman to have been taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780.

[31] Lieut. Col. James Ingram. He had resigned July 8, 1777.

[32] Ensign Charles Casson.

[33] Ensign Denham Ford, of the Fourth Virginia Regiment. He was cashiered in January, 1778.

drunk in the morning, and behaving in an ungentlemanlike manner," found guilty of the charge brought against him, and sentenced to be discharged from the service.

Ensign Thomas Shanks of the 10th Pennsylvania regiment with "Stealing two pair of shoes from Lieut: Adams,[34] regimental quartermaster (p: tem:) to the 10th. Pennsylv: regt.," found guilty of the charge exhibited against him, and sentenced to be discharged from the service.

Major Forrest[35] of Col. Proctors regiment of artillery, charged with "Neglect of duty, with disobedience of orders, to the prejudice of the service, good order and military discipline, and with breaking his arrest," found guilty of neglect of duty, and of disobedience orders, to the prejudice of the service, good order and military discipline, and not guilty of breaking his arrest, and sentenced to be reprimanded in General orders.

It appears by the evidence, that Major Forrest's conduct was highly reprehensible, because of such a nature as tends to subvert the foundation of order in an army. When an officer is directed to do any thing in the line of his duty, he ought not to reason upon the propriety of the measure, but execute it in the best manner he can, remembering that implicit obedience, which constitutes true discipline, is essential to the success, and even to the existence of an army.

It is the ardent wish of the Commander in Chief, that the duty of the camp may be performed with the greatest exactness and regularity, and he desires that the Major General, Brigadier General and Field Officers of the day attend the parade constantly, at the time of guard mounting, and see that the guard are duly marched off, and every thing conducted with

[34] Lieut. Francis Adams, of the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment.

[35] Maj. Thomas Forrest, of the Fourth Continental Artillery. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in December, 1778; resigned in October, 1781.

propriety. Henceforward the guards are to mount at nine o'clock in the morning.

The officers have now an opportunity of attending to the discipline of the troops. Every day when the weather permits, the corps are to be turned out and practiced in the most essential exercises, particularly in priming and loading, forming, advancing, retreating, breaking and rallying. No pains are to be spared to improve the troops in these points.

All parties and witnesses relative to the charges against General Wayne, are to attend the Court of enquiry at Lord Stirling's quarters to morrow morning at nine o'clock.

The Q. M. General is directed to procure paper immediately, that the several corps may be furnished without delay.

AFTER ORDERS

For the better security of the ammunition, each brigade Quarter Master is early to morrow morning, to go with ten ax men and five other men of his brigade, and collect with the utmost care and dispatch, all the horns[36] they can find at this, and the late encampments of the army, and immediately upon his return, report the number he shall have collected.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND

Headquarters, October 12, 1777.

Sir: I have duly received your favour of the 15th ult'o from Fort Pitt, giving me an account of the state of your garrison. I am sorry your force is not more adequate to the uses you have for it, and that such coldness appears in the neighbouring inhabitants as to preclude the assistance you had a right to expect

[36] The use of cleaned-out cattle horns in which to store cartridges was one of the devices adopted for obtaining waterproof cartridge boxes.

from them. Under the circumstances you mention, I have no objection to you detaining any of the Continental troops now with you; except those which belong to the 8th Pennsylvania regiment. The detention of these tends to the ruin of the whole regiment; for those who remain, finding that such as have heretofore deserted, escape punishment and are countenanced in staying from their corps, are encouraged by that circumstance to follow their example, so that desertions become every day more frequent among them, and will soon, if not put a stop to, reduce the regiment to nothing.

This consideration induced me to desire, that you will at all events, immediately on the receipt of this, take the most effectual measures to forward to camp all the officers and men of the regiment, who either compose a part of your garrison, or are within your reach except such officers as may have authentic vouchers of their being on any necessary business of the regiment, and have not overstaid time, in executing it. I am etc.[37]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Towamensing, October 13, 1777.

Parole Plymouth. Countersigns Portsmouth, Richmond.

Those Battalions and corps that have joined the army, since the third instant, are to attend to the orders of that day, with regard to making out their Muster Rolls. An immediate attention to this duty, is required of every officer, who has not already performed it.

It is with real grief and amazement that the General observes, by the late returns, how deficient of arms and accoutrements the Continental troops are. He directs, that they may be immediately supplied with muskets, and if there is not a sufficiency

[37] In private hands. The original was sold at auction in 1893. The draft, in the writing of Alexander Hamilton, dated Oct. 13, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

of cartouch boxes, that the tin Cannisters be taken from those who have cartouch boxes, to supply the defect of such as have none. After this the General positively orders that the arms, ammunition and accoutrements be examined once a day, by an officer of each company. That this may certainly be done, he expects the commanding officer of each regiment will give particular attention to the duty here enjoined. He also recommends it to the General Officers, as a matter well worthy of their care. Any soldier after this, who shall loose, sell or otherwise dispose of his arms, accoutrements or cloathing, shall be punished in the most exemplary manner, without the smallest mitigation.

As there are not spare cartouch boxes at this time, to supply the militia, Col. Crawford is desired to use his utmost skill and industry to procure horns and pouches to carry their ammunition in, or to adopt any other method, he may, upon consulting his officers, find more expeditious. He is to appoint some active person acquainted with duty, as Brigade Major pro: tempore, who will be allowed pay during the time he acts.

As many great and valuable advantages, would result, from the having the arms of a division, or even of a brigade, of the same bore, the Commander in Chief directs, that each officer commanding a brigade would have a return instantly made to him of the different Calibers and number of each kind in his brigade; and that as soon as this is done Major General Sullivan would call all the General officers, and officers commanding brigades, together, and see if such a disposition of arms can be effected, as many happy consequences would flow from it.

AFTER ORDERS

Altho' orders have been given to complete the army with 40 rounds of cartridges a man, the General did not intend that they should be distributed to the men 'till further orders, except

so far as should be necessary to fill the cartridge boxes and tin-cannisters: All above that number are to be collected immediately, and deposited in a good covered waggon of the brigade or division, no delay is to be made in this matter, lest the cartridges be spoiled or lost.

The companies raised by Capts. Steel,[38] Irvine,[39] Hearsley[40] and Calderwood[41] are to join Col Malcom's regt. and compose part of it.

What blankets, shoes and breeches are in the Clothiers' hands are to be distributed to morrow upon application to him without further orders.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, October 13, 1777.

Sir: Since I had the honour of addressing you on the 11th Inst., nothing material has happened between our Army and General Howe's. The inclosed Copies of Commodore Hazlewood's and Colonel Bradford's Letters, will shew the situation of Affairs in the Navy and at Fort Mifflin on the 11th which are the latest accounts I have received from thence; But there has been a warm Cannonade since, which continued with but little intermission 'till between Two and three O'Clock yesterday afternoon when it ceased. The result I have not heard; but I hope, from the determined Spirit of the Fleet and the Garrison, matters continue as we could wish.

I received an Express last night from Genl Putnam, informing me of the Capture of Fort Montgomery and the consequent evacuation of Peekskill. I should send Copies of his letters to

[38] Capt. John Steele. He resigned Mar. 8, 1778.
[39] Capt. Matthew Irvine. He resigned Jan. 20, 1778.
[40] Capt. James Blakslee(?).
[41] Capt. James Calderwood. Died Sept. 13, 1777, from wounds received at Brandywine.

me, but as the Express, who brought them, had dispatches for Congress, I conclude he has advised them fully on the subject. These events may have an unhappy influence on our Northern affairs, but as the Connecticut Militia seemed to be coming in fast and Govr. Clinton is exerting himself to bring out the force of New York, If Genl. Putnam can but keep pace with their fleet in their progress up the River, I hope he will be able to frustrate their design of releiving Genl. Burgoyne and that every thing will still terminate well in that Quarter.

It gives me pain to repeat so often, the wants of the Army and nothing would induce me to it, but the most urgent necessity. Every mode hitherto adopted for supplying them, has proved inadequate, notwithstanding my best endeavours to make the most of the means which have been in my power. The inclosed return will shew how great our deficiency in the most essential Articles. What New expedient Congress can devise for more effectually answering these demands I know not, persuaded as I am, that their closest attention has not been wanting to a matter of so great importance. But circumstanced as we are, I am under an absolute necessity of troubling them, that if any new source can be opened for alleviating our distresses, it may be embraced, as speedily as possible. For it is impossible, that any Army so unprovided can long subsist, or act with that vigor which is requisite to ensure success.

The return now inclosed, is for Troops present in Camp, besides which there are numbers in the several Hospitals totally destitute of the necessaries they require to fit them for the field, and on this account alone are prevented from joining their Corps. The Recruits coming in are also in the same melancholy predicament. I cannot ascertain with precision what quantity of Cloathing is at this time in Mr. Mease's hands, but from every account what he has can administer but a very partial

relief. I know he is intirely bare of some of the most Capital articles we want.

With respect to Cartouch Boxes, without which it is impossible to act, I cannot find from my inquiries, that there are any in store. Several of the Continental Troops are deficient in this instance, and what adds to our distress, there are but very few of the Southern Militia that are provided. I am trying to make a collection about the Country, but from the information I have receiv'd, the measure will be attended with but little success. This want, tho' not remedied immediately, may be removed in time, and I would take the liberty to recommend, that the earliest attention should be had to making a large supply. I would also advise that much care should be used in choosing the Leather. None but the best and thickest is proper for the purpose, and each Box should have a small inner flap for the greater security of the Cartridges against rain and moist weather. The Flaps in general, are too small and do not project sufficiently over the ends or sides of the Boxes. I am convinced of the utility nay necessity of these improvements and that the adoption of them, tho' they will incur an additional expence at first, will prove a considerable saving, and of the most beneficial consequences. For we know from unhappy experience in the severe rain on the 16th. Ulto, the few Boxes we had of this construction, preserved the ammunition without injury, whilst it was almost wholly destroyed in those of the Common form with a single flap.

There is one thing more, which I cannot omit mentioning to Congress, and which in my opinion, has a claim to their most Serious attention. I mean the general defective state of the Regiments which compose our Armies. Congress will find, from a view of the returns transmitted from time to time, that they

do not amount to near half of their just complement. What can be done to remedy this I know not. But it is certain every idea of voluntary inlistments seems to be at an end; and it is equally certain, that the mode of drafting has been carried on, with such want of energy in some states and so much disregarded in others, that but a small accession of force has been derived from it. These facts are Sufficiently interesting of themselves, but there are others to be added. I am told that Virginia, in her regulations for drafting, extended her plan only to nine regiments that were first raised. In what Policy this was founded, I cannot determine but the other Six, are to receive no reinforcements from that Source. Nor do matters stop here. The Engagements of the first nine regiments, I am informed were temporary, and according to the Officers accounts, the longest period to which any of the Men are bound to serve is next April; many are not obliged so long, and there are some, who claim a discharge at this time. I do not mention these things thro' choice, but from a principle of duty, to the end that Congress may devise some timely, effectual provision for the whole if such shall be in their power.[42] It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the subject, and I will only observe, that the consequences of calling the militia into the field, in the course of the war, have been so severely and ruinously felt, that I trust our views will never be turned to them, but in cases of the greatest extremity.

In pursuance of the Resolution of Congress, a Court of Inquiry has set upon Genl Sullivan. They met on the 10th and continued the examination till the 12th, when they came to the Inclosed opinion. The Depositions and papers which were before the Court were many and prolix. They are not

[42] Opposite this sentence is a manuscript marginal note, made apparently after this letter reached Congress: "Not acted upon."

transmitted, but they may be obtained from the Court if wanted. Besides the depository proofs which they had of Wounded and dead Officers, they had many Gentlemen before them in Person. I have the honor etc.[43]

P. S. Octr. 14th. I last night receiv'd letters from Commodore Hazlewood and Colo. Smith. The situation of affairs was nearly the same the Evening before as when the Commodore and Colo. Bradford wrote on the 10th and 11th. The Cannonade mention'd above was from our Gallies at the Enemy's redoubts.[44]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Towamensing, October 14, 1777.

Parole Worcester. Countersigns Springfield, Hartford.

The officers on guard are to make report of them[selves?] to the officers of the day, who will report the whole to the Adjutant General.

Doctor Craige director of the hospital at Reading has sent a list of the wounded there, whose blankets and other necessaries remain in camp. The commanding Officers of regiments are immediately to make the most diligent search for all such necessaries belonging to the wounded in their respective regiments, collect them together, and lodge them with all possible dispatch at the Qr. Mr. General's quarters. The wounded are now suffering for want of them, and not a moment is to be lost, in relieving those *brave* men, who suffered in their country's cause.

---

[43] This letter was read in Congress October 16 and referred to the Board of War. (See General Orders, Oct. 16, 1777, *post.*)

[44] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

A greatly faded fragment of a letter, in Washington's writing, dated Oct. 13, 1776, is among the Draper manuscripts in the archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society. Apparently addressed to County Lieutenant Samuel Hunter, Northumberland County, Pa., it seems to call for a certified account of ration purchases by the Continental Army commissaries in that county. The names of Colonel [Henry] Hollingsworth, Deputy Quartermaster General, and Col. ——— Rumford are decipherable.

The Brigade Majors are to send lists of their names, to the officers commanding regiments, without delay.

Lyman Hitchcock Esqr. is appointed to do the duty of Brigade Major, in the 2nd. Maryland Brigade, late Deborre's, and is to be respected as such.

Mr. John Lawson, Adjutant to the Prince William militia, is appointed to do the duty of Brigade Major, in the brigade of militia, under the command of Col. Crawford, and is to be respected as such.

Richard Emory Esqr. is appointed to do the duty of Brigade Major, in the first Maryland brigade; and is to be respected as such.

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

October 14, 1777.

Sir: I yesterday received your favour of the 12th. In consequence of your request, I have ordered a return to be made, of all the Seamen in the Army, and if they can be found, shall furnish you with the number you desire, or if the whole number cannot be had, I will collect and send you as many as I can. I have also directed Colo. Greene, who it is probable will have some men in his party accustomed to the Water, to select them for the use of your Fleet. You will apply to him accordingly.

Your spirited exertions in defence of the River, have my warmest acknowledgements, and I have the fullest confidence that they will be continued to the utmost of your ability, and that you will persevere in a conduct, suitable to the importance of your trust. Be assured, I will cooperate with you by every effort in my power.

Let me know how you stand with respect to Ammunition, and if deficient, whether any steps are taking to procure a supply. I am etc.[45]

[45] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade and Alexander Hamilton.

To COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

Head Quarters, October 14, 1777.

Sir: Commodore Hazelwood informs me, that the desertions from the fleet have left him exceedingly deficient in men, which must greatly enfeeble his operations. As I imagine there is likely to be a number of men accustomed to the water in your garrison, I must desire, you will immediately draft all such and deliver them for the Commodore, for the use of the fleet. It is essential he should have a sufficiency of hands and the men cannot possibly be more usefully employed than with him.

It is my wish that you should, and I dare say you will be ready to assist Colo. Smith, in any enterprise he may form for the security of his post, and to prevent the success of the enemy's attempts for its reduction. I have directed him to apply to you for whatever assistance he may want, and you can afford. I am etc.[46]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, October 14, 1777.

Sir: Yours of the 12th. I received Yesterday. I am sorry your attempts to get possession of the enemy's batteries have hitherto failed. I hope your future endeavours may be more successful. If they once get their batteries fairly erected, the situation of your Garrison will no doubt become very trying; but I dare say, they will be duly impressed with the importance of the trust committed to them, and will manifest a proportionable degree of fortitude.

In order to render the assistance of the Gallies more effectual, I am endeavouring to supply their deficiency of men from

[46] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

the army. In the mean time, I have desired Colonel Greene to furnish all the seamen he may have, and to give you every assistance in his power in the execution of any enterprise you may find necessary.[47] I am etc.[48]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, October 15, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 8th. and 10th. instt. giving me the account of the loss of Fort Montgomery and the Evacuation of Peeks Kill in consequence of it, but I am very glad to find that you had previously removed the greater part of the Stores. This stroke would have perhaps proved fatal to our northern affairs in its consequences, had not the defeat of Genl. Burgoyne so providentially taken place upon the 7th. instt., I can scarcely think, that Sr. Henry Clinton will pursue his Route now the object of it is disappointed, I mean a junction with Burgoyne. But I hope, if he should attempt to penetrate further, you will be able, with the Militia from Connecticut and New York and the reinforcement sent down by Genl. Gates,[49] to stop his progress. Genl. McDougall has just suggested a matter to me, which he thinks of importance. He imagines that the Enemy, supposing they are obliged to fall down the North River again, will distroy all the Boats they find or carry them

[47] On October 14 Tench Tilghman, by direction of Washington, wrote to Capt. Benjamin Ayres, Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General, to strip and remove from the vessels at Trenton all sails, rigging, and stores. Any ammunition was to be sent to Commodore Hazelwood. On October 15 Tilghman, by Washington's direction, ordered Brig. Gen. Silas Newcomb to march his New Jersey Militia to Red Bank, build huts within the fort, guard against a surprise at night, and hold the place to the last extremity or as long as Colonel Smith succeeded in holding Fort Mifflin, which lay opposite to Red Bank. Col. Israel Angell, with a regiment of Continentals, was to join Newcomb. These letters are in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[48] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[49] "Some heavy artillery and a reenforcement of Continental troops, I am informed by General Gates, are on their way to join me."—*Putnam to Washington,* Oct. 25, 1777. This letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

down with them, in either case we shall have no means of crossing. He therefore advises that the Boat Builders in the Peekskill Department, be immediately set to work to make a number of Boats, which may be built some distance back from the Water and brought down upon Carriages. But if the Enemy go down again they may be built convenient to the Water. If our Boats are destroyed, the sooner this Work is set about the better. Since the Battle of Germantown, both Armies have remained quiet. The Enemy have been endeavouring to remove the obstructions in the Delaware, but they have not yet made much progress. I am &ca.[50]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Qurs., Philadelphia County, October 15, 1777.

Dr. Sir: I was this day honored with yours of the 9th. containing a full account of the Storm of Forts Montgomery and Clinton. Genl. Putnam had given me information of the loss two days before, but not in so full and ample a manner. It is to be regretted that so brave a resistance did not meet with a suitable reward. You have however, the satisfaction of knowing that every thing was done that could possibly be, by a handful against a far superior force. This I am convinced was the case. This affair might have been attended with fatal consequences, had not there been a most providential intervention in favour of Genl. Gates's Arms on the 7th instant, but I am fully of opinion that Sr. Henry Clinton will not advance much further up the River upon hearing of Burgoyne's defeat and retreat. Nothing but absolute necessity could have induced me to have withdrawn any further part of the Troops allotted for the defence of the posts up the North River; but such was the reduced state of our

[50] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Continental Regiments, after the Battle of Brandywine, and such the slowth and difficulty of procuring reinforcements of Militia from the southward, that without the Troops from Peeks kill we should scarcely have been able to have kept the Field against General Howe. I had the greatest hopes, that General Putnam would have drawn in as many Connecticut Militia, as would have replaced the Continental Troops, and I make no doubt but he did all in his power to obtain them in time. I am sorry that you were under the necessity of destroying the Frigates, the only consolation is, that if we had not done it ourselves, the Enemy would either have done it for us, or have carried them down for their own use. Since the Battle of Germantown upon the 4th. instant, the two Armies have remained in a manner quiet. The Enemy have made several attempts to remove the obstructions in the Delaware, but hitherto without effect. They are now making preparations to raise Batteries in the Rear of Fort Mifflin which commands the uppermost Chevaux de Frize. If we can maintain that post and one opposite upon the Jersey Shore, I am in hopes our Ships, Gallies and floating Batteries will be able to keep their stations and repel any force that can be brought by Water directly in front. I most earnestly expect further news from the northward, which I hope will bring us accounts of the total ruin of Burgoynes Army.

It is not unlikely, that one of Sr. Henry Clintons objects will be to destroy the Boats and small craft in the North River. Should this be the case and he succeed, I think it will be advisable for you to set a number of Workmen to building Flat Bottom Boats at some secure places within three or four Miles of the Water, from which they may be easily hawled. They are so exceedingly useful and so frequently wanted, that I think the business cannot, in such case, be too soon begun or carried

on with too much expedition. I have written to Genl. Putnam upon the same subject. I am etc.

P. S. By sundry concuring accounts of persons out of Philadelphia and from Deserters, the Enemy's loss in the action of the 4th was very considerable. The lowest say it was 1500 killed and wounded, others 2000 and some as high as 2500. Perhaps the two last are exaggerated, but there are many reasons to believe that the first cannot much exceed the mark. For they were compleatly surprized and drove in great disorder for a long time and for a considerable distance at every point of attack. Had it not been for the extreme fogginess of the day which prevented our several Columns discovering each other's movements and from improving the advantages which they separately gained, in all probability the day would have been a most fortunate one. But owing to that circumstance they got confused and retreated at a moment when there was every appearance of victory in our favor. The Enemy lost some valuable officers, among the slain Genl. Agnew and it is said another Genl. officer was dangerously wounded. We were not without on our part Brigadr Nash was wounded by a Cannon Ball and is since dead. We had also several other officers of inferior rank wounded and some killed. This crude, undigested account I dont mean for publication. I hope all will yet end well.[51]

To JAMES MEASE[52]

Head Quarters, October 15, 1777.

Sir: In order to enable you to carry on the business of your Department with facility and dispatch, You are hereby authorized to purchase hire or press, as circumstances may require

[51] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and Robert Hanson Harrison. The P. S. is from the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

[52] Clothier General of the Continental Army.

from time to time, such number of Horses and Waggons, as you shall stand in need of to answer the necessary purposes thereof. And in consideration of the Wants of the Army in many essential Articles of Clothing, and the backwardness which has in some instances appeared, in persons who have them for sale, to part with them to the public on reasonable terms proceeding from motives of disaffection and avarice. You are also empowered to sieze such articles as you know to be absolutely necessary to us, wherever you find them in private hands; paying a generous price for the same. At the same time that you will use this power in a manner answerable to our necessities; you will be careful to exercise it with all the discretion, which a power so delicate and important demands, remembering that an improper use of it may not only render it odious, but may defeat the advantages it is intended to produce.[53]

To COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

Head Quarters, 11 O'Clock at night, October 15, 1777.

Sir: I am persuaded by intelligence from different quarters, that the enemy are determined to endeavour by a speedy and vigorous effort to carry Fort Mifflin, and for this purpose are preparing a considerable force. Their attempt will probably be sudden and violent, as they are hardly in a situation to delay a matter so essential to them as that of removing the River obstructions. It is of infinite importance to disappoint their intentions in this instance, as their keeping or evacuating Philadelphia materially depends upon their having the communication with their shipping immediately open, and it is not unlikely they may dispair of effecting it, if they should fail in the push, I imagine they are now about to make. Col. Smith's

[53] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

present force is not as great as could be wished and requires to be augmented, to put him in a condition to make an effectual opposition. I would therefore have you to detach immediately as large a part of your force as you possibly can in aid of his garrison. I cannot well determine what proportion: This must be regulated by circumstances and appearances but my present idea is that the principal part should go to his assistance. To enable you the better to spare a respectable reinforcement, I have directed General Newcomb to send his brigade of militia to Red-bank, or as many of them as he can prevail upon to go. Colonel Angell will also march early to-morrow morning to join you, with his regiment. The Garrisons and fleet may be informed of these succours by way of keeping up their spirits.

I would not have you trust to the houses in the neighborhood of your post, as these in case of an investiture will fail you; which makes it prudent to have a sufficient number of huts before hand prepared within the fort.

I hope, and doubt not, you will keep fully in mind the prodigious importance of not suffering the enemy to get entire possession of the Delaware, and will spare no pains, nor activity to frustrate their efforts for that purpose. Be watchful on every quarter, and industrious in stopping every avenue by which you are assailable. Be cautious not to pay too much attention to anyone part of your works, and neglect the others; but take every precaution to strengthen the whole; for otherwise the greatest danger may be where you least expect it. I am etc.[54]

N. B. The above letter was written by His Excellency's orders; but as he went to bed before it was finished it will be handed you without his signature.[55]

---

[54] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. From the text in the collection of Frederick S. Peck, of Providence, R. I.

[55] The draft, in the *Washington Papers,* is composed as though written and signed by Alexander Hamilton at Washington's direction. It omits the postscript.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Towamensing, October 15, 1777.

Parole Gates. Countersigns Lincoln, Arnold.

The General has the repeated pleasure of informing the army of the success of the troops under the command of General Gates, over General Burgoyne's army. On the 7th instant the action commenced, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, between the picquets of the two armies, which were reinforced on both sides. The contest was warm, and continued with obstinacy 'till evening, when our troops gained the advanced line of the enemy, and encamped on that ground all night. The enemy fled, and left behind them 330 tents, with kettles boiling with corn; 8 Brass Cannon, two twelve and six six-pounders; upwards of two hundred of their dead; and the baggage of their flying camp. General Frazier[56] is among their slain. Our troops took 550 non-commissioned officers and soldiers prisoners; besides Sir Francis Carr Clark, Aid-de-Camp to General Burgoyne, a Quarter Master General, the commanding officers of artillery, of a foreign brigade and of the British Grenadiers, and a number of inferior rank. Two of our Generals, Lincoln and Arnold, were wounded in the leg: besides these, our troops suffered very little. They behaved with great bravery and intrepidity; and have thus a second time triumphed over the valor of *veteran troops*. When the last accounts came away, General Burgoyne's army was retreating, and ours pursuing.

The General congratulates the troops upon this signal victory, the third capital advantage, which under divine providence, we have gained in that quarter, and hopes it will prove a powerful stimulus to the army under his immediate command; at least to equal their northern brethren in brave and

[56] Maj. Gen. Simon Fraser.

intrepid exertions when called thereto. The General wishes them to consider that this is the Grand American Army; and that of course great things are expected from it. 'Tis the army of whose superior prowess some have boasted. What shame then and dishonour will attend us, if we suffer ourselves in every instance to be outdone? We have a force sufficient, by the favor of Heaven, to crush our foes; and nothing is wanting but a spirited, persevering exertion of it, to which, besides the motives before mentioned, duty and the love of our Country irresistably impel us. The effect of such powerful motives, no man, who possesses the spirit of a soldier can withstand, and spurred on by them, the General assures himself, that on the next occasion his troops will be completely successful.

In honor of the northern Army, and to celebrate their victory, Thirteen pieces of cannon are to be discharged, at the artillery park, at five o'clock this afternoon: previous to which, the brigades and corps are to be drawn out on their respective parades, and these orders distinctly read to them by their officers.

Those men in Col. Crawford's brigade of Militia, whose pieces cannot be drawn, are to be discharged at 5 o'clock this afternoon.

The troops are to march to morrow from the right, at seven o'clock in the morning; the Major General of the day will point out the order of march.

Brigade Returns are to be made immediately, of all the Seamen in the respective corps of the army.

The Brigadiers, and officers commanding brigades, are without the smallest delay, to make strict enquiry, for the tin Canisters which have been issued to them, and report their number now with them, and inform what is become of the rest.

In consequence of a representation of the Field Officers of Col. Stewart's regt.[57] Capt. Patrick Anderson and Lieut. Jacob

[57] Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment.

Meltz of that regiment, are hereby suspended for their non-attendance; and their pay is to be stopped.

A court of enquiry, consisting of five members, one of which, General Greene, is to be president, is to sit at the presidents quarters, at three o'clock this afternoon, to enquire into the charges against Brigadier General Maxwell. All witnesses are to attend at the same time. Brigadiers General Muhlenberg and Varnum, Cols. Stewart[58] and Richardson[59] are appointed members of this court.

A General Court Martial of horse Officers to sit at Col. Moylan's quarters, to morrow morning, nine o'clock in the morning, for the trial of all prisoners of the Horse, which shall be brought before them. Col. Moylan is appointed president of this court.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at Peter Wentzes,
Worcester Township, October 16, 1777.

Parole Carlisle. Countersigns Lancaster, York.

The Commander in Chief positively orders, that the horse encamp compactly, in the rear of the army, and as near as possible to Head Quarters.

The regiments are to continue to draw materials for cartridges, and go on making them every day with care and dispatch, and when made, they are to be returned to the Commissary of military stores.

The Court of enquiry of which Major General Lord Stirling was president, held the 12th. instant, to examine into the

[58] Col. Walter Stewart, of the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment.

[59] Col. William Richardson, of the Fifth Maryland Regiment.

On or about October 15 Washington wrote a hasty note to Brig. Gen. James Potter, requesting him "to take every step in your power, by manoeuvres or otherwise" to attract the attention of the enemy to relieve the pressure on Fort Mifflin. No copy of this letter seems to have been kept. The original was in the possession of a Boston dealer in November, 1930.

conduct of Major General Sullivan, in the expedition commanded by him to Staten-Island in the month of August last, report their opinion thereon as follows—viz—

The Court after hearing the evidence against the conduct of Major General Sullivan, and those produced by him in his defence, and duly considering the same, are unanimously of opinion, that the expedition against the enemy on Staten-Island was eligible, and promised great advantage to the cause of America. That the expedition was well concerted, and the orders for the execution proper, and would have succeeded with reputation to the General, and the troops under his command, had it not in some measure been rendered abortive by accidents, which were out of the power of the General to foresee or prevent. That General Sullivan was particularly active in embarking the troops to the Islands, and took every precaution in his power, to bring them off. That he made early provision at Elizabeth-town for refreshing the troops of his division, when they returned to Jersey; And that upon the maturest consideration of the evidence in possession of this court, General Sullivan's conduct, in planning and executing the expedition, was such in the opinion of this court, that he deserves the approbation of his country, and not its censure. The Court therefore are unanimously of opinion that he ought to stand honorably acquitted of any unsoldierlike conduct, in the expedition to Staten-Island.[60]

AFTER ORDERS

The regiments commanded by Colonels Greene, Angel, Durkee and Chandler, are to form one brigade under the command of Brigadier Genl. Varnum. The regiments commanded by Col. Prentice, Bradley and Swift are to form one brigade, under the command of Brigadier Genl. Huntington. These two Brigades form a division, to be commanded by Brigadier General McDougall.

To COLONEL ISRAEL ANGELL

Head Quarters, October 16, 1777.

Sir: With the Regiment you command and what Baggage you think is absolutely necessary, you are immediately to proceed

[60] The original proceedings of this court were forwarded to Congress by Washington and are filed with his letter of October 13 in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.*

to Bristol, cross the Delaware at that place and continue your Route to Red Bank; this march should be performed with the utmost secrecy and under pretence of Covering the stores at Bristol, until you arrive at that place, as the Enemy might endeavour to intercept you should your Route be known. Upon your arrival at Red Bank, you are to consult with Commodore Hazelwood and Colonels Green and Smith and act in such manner as you think will be most conducive to the security of the Posts in general without considering yourselves as attached to any particular one. I think it more than probable, that the greatest part of your men will be wanted in fort Mifflin, and as you have many Seamen, you will give the Commodore every assistance which may be thought prudent and necessary. I have no doubt but you will use your utmost Exertions, both in the Expedition of your March, and after your arrival, for the Tenure and security of the Posts you go to defend. As an opposition made in that Quarter, becoming brave and determined Officers, will greatly facilitate the Operations of this Army, and distress that of the Enemy to such a degree as must very soon place them in a most hazardous and disagreeable situation. I am &ca.[61]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters at Peter Wentz's, October 16, 1777.

Sir: I have been duly honoured with your favours of the 12th and 13th Inst. with their several Inclosures.

In respect to the Resolution directing a flag to be sent to Genl. Howe, I am inclined to think, that the information upon which it was framed was without foundation. The Letters which have come from our Officers, who have been lately taken, generally mention, that their treatment has been tolerably good; and such privates, as have escaped, have said nothing in the course of their examination of their having been compelled to

[61] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

work. For these reasons I have taken the liberty to decline sending the Flag.[62] At the same time Congress may be assured, If our Prisoners suffer any wrongs, I shall take every means in my power to have them redressed, as soon as I am apprized of them.

It is with the highest satisfaction I congratulate Congress on the Success of our Arms at the Northward in the Action of the 7th. An event of the most interesting importance at this critical juncture. From the happy train in which things then were, I hope we shall soon hear of the most decisive advantages.

We moved this morning from the Encampment at which we have been for six or seven days past, and are just arrived at the Grounds we occupied before the Action of the 4th. One motive for coming here, is to divert the Enemy's attention and force from the Forts. These they seem to consider as Capital objects and from their operations mean to reduce if possible. At present their designs are directed against Fort Mifflin and the Chevaux de frize. I have therefore detached a further Reinforcement to the Garrison.

I yesterday thro' the hands of Mrs. Ferguson[63] of Graham Park, received a Letter of a very curious and extraordinary nature from Mr. Duche[64] which I have thought proper to transmit

[62] Congress having been informed that American prisoners of war were compelled to work on the Philadelphia fortifications by the British, resolved that General Washington send a flag of inquiry to General Howe and take such measures as seemed proper with British prisoners. This proceeding is stricken out in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* and in the margin is written "false intelligence."

[63] Mrs. Elizabeth Ferguson. She is the same person who approached Joseph Reed with a suggestion of bribery to desert the American cause.

[64] The Rev. Jacob Duché. He wished Washington to recommend that the Declaration of Independence be rescinded and that he declare an immediate cessation of hostilities. If Congress would not look favorably on such a course, Duché blandly advised Washington to "Negotiate for America at the Head of Your Army." The following extract is typical of the entire letter: "Perhaps it may be said, that it is 'better to die than be Slaves.' This indeed is a splendid maxim in theory: And perhaps in some instances may be found experimentally true. But where there is the least Probability of an happy Accommodation, surely Wisdom and Humanity call for some Sacrifices to be made, to prevent inevitable Destruction. You, well know, that there is but one invincible Bar to such an Accommodation. Could this be removed, other obstacles might

to Congress. To this ridiculous, illiberal performance, I made a very short reply by desiring the bearer of it, if she should hereafter, by any accident, meet with Mr. Duche, to tell him I should have returned it unopened, If I had had any idea of the contents, observing at the same time, that I highly disapproved the intercourse she seemed to have been carrying on and expected it would be discontinued. Notwithstanding the Author's assertion, I cannot but suspect that this Measure did not originate with him, and that he was induced to it, by the hope of establishing his interest and peace more effectually with the Enemy. I have the honor etc.[65]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Head Qurs., 7 o'clock P. M., October 16, 1777.

Sir: I have this moment receiv'd your favor of Yesterday and am very sorry to find that the Number of Militia you mention your being able to collect, is so far inferior to what you expected.

It is my earnest request that you immediately collect all the Men you possibly can and send them on as fast as any considerable number can be got together, under good Officers, to Join this Army. As you will remain to March with the last detachment, I wish you to use all your Influence and Interest with your Legislative Body, that they may give you what Assistance they can in the completion of this necessary Object. You can urge with great Justice, that as long as Genl. Howes Army has

readily be overcome. 'Tis to you, and you alone your bleeding Country looks, and calls aloud for this Sacrifice. Your Arm alone has Strength sufficient to remove this Bar. May Heaven inspire you with the glorious Resolution of exerting this Strength at so interesting a Crisis, and thus immortalizing Yourself as Friend and Guardian of Your Country! Your penetrating Eye needs no more explicit Language to discern my meaning."

Duché's original letter (14 pages on folio-size paper) is filed with this of Washington in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. A copy of it, in the writing of Alexander Hamilton and Tench Tilghman, is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[65]In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

an existence, the Counties adjacent will be eternally subject to Depredations, nor can any thing prevent it, but such a Union and Cooperation of the People as will effectually reduce him, to attain which happy end, a better opportunity than the present never presented itself.

Mr. Tilghman Informs me, that he has given you some account of our situation, and of the Victory our Northern Army has most opportunely gain'd over Genl. Burgoyne, which I hope may be improved into a total defeat. Our Army has this day come to the same Ground, from whence we march'd to Attack the Enemy on the Night of the 3d. Instant.

Another reason occurs, why it is the true Interest of your Legislature to give us every Aid upon the present occasion, which is, that if the Enemy can once bring up their shipping and get the City fortified and secured for winter Quarters, it will be so much in their power to make constant incursions into your State that you will be either oblig'd to submit to repeated heavy Losses by being between two fires, or keep your Militia on foot thro' the Severity of the Winter. I am etc.[66]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, October 16, 1777.

Sir: The inclosed lists contain the Names of the officers in Colo. Lees and Colo. Jacksons Regiments[67] with the dates of their appointments. You will be pleased to have Commissions filled up accordingly and sent to me and I will forward them to Boston. I have no blank Commissions at present with me, be pleased therefore, to send me some, as many Vacancies have

[66] In the writing of John Fitzgerald. From the original in the Rutgers University Library.

[67] Cols. William R. Lee and Henry Jackson's Additional Continental regiments.

happened by the late actions and I should be glad to fill them up. I am, etc.[68]

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, October 17, 1777.

Sir: As the term of Service, of great number of the Militia of this State, who were called out some time ago, has expired, and their places have been by no means punctually filled up by succeeding Classes, I am constrained to call upon you, in the most pressing Manner, to exert the Powers of Government, not only to keep up the Number of four thousand Men demanded by Congress, but of a much greater number, if they can possibly be armed and accoutred. When the Capital of your State is in the Enemy's hands, and when they can only be dislodged from thence, by a powerful reinforcement of Militia, in aid of the Continental Troops, there should not be a moment's hesitation, whether one or two Classes should be commanded to appear; but, at least, one half of the Men capable to bear Arms should be called into the Field. By exertions of this kind, New York, tho' sorely oppressed by our avowed Enemies, and more so by our internal foes, has made a noble resistance; and New Jersey has kept the Enemy out of her limits, (except now and then a hasty descent) without a Continental Regiment; besides doing this, she has sent, and is now sending reinforcements to this, and the Northern Army. It will be no great while, before the Militia from Maryland and Virginia will have performed their tour of duty, and from the Distance, which most of them have to travel, before they reach the Army, I cannot expect much more assistance from those Quarters in the course of the remaining part of this Campaign. I assure you, Sir, it is Matter

[68] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

of astonishment to every part of the Continent, to hear that Pennsylvania, the most opulent and populous of all the States, has but 1.200 Militia in the Field, at a time when the Enemy are endeavouring to make themselves compleatly Masters of, and to fix their Winter Quarters in, her Capital. Without the free Navigation of Delaware, I am confident, that Genl. Howe will never remain in Philadelphia, and I am as confident, that, had I a sufficient force to afford as much assistance to the Forts upon Delaware, as their importance deserves, he would not be able to possess them. I have spared as many of the Continental Troops as I possibly can, without endangering the Safety of this Army, and I shall still continue to afford every further relief in my power. From this state of Facts, I hope that you will not loose a moment, in calling upon, and endeavouring to rouse the people of this Province to a manly and effectual opposition; and I know of no means so likely to answer, as not to confine the demand to any particular Number, but to call upon every man to come forth. The County Lieutenants should be particularly careful to see, that all those, who have Arms and accoutrements of their own, bring them out; for they have a very mistaken notion, that there are full supplies in the Continental Stores; Many even come out without Blankets, expecting to find them.

There is another matter which I beg leave to recommend to the Serious Consideration of the Legislature of your State; that is, the falling upon some mode of compleating and keeping up the Quota of your Continental Regiments. Upon an average, your Battalions have never been above one third full; and, now, many of them, are far below even that. From the extravagant prices given to Substitutes, in the Militia, in the different States, it has become impossible to recruit more upon the bounty allowed by Congress. The New England States and Virginia have began to adopt the mode of drafting, and, I am

informed, they have Succeeded very well; I am convinced, that this will be found the only method of raising continental Troops; and, if the measure was to become general throughout the States, it would not be deemed a hardship. I mention this matter to you at this time, in hopes that you will, as soon as possible, fall upon this, or some other, mode to recruit your Regiments in the course of this fall and Winter; and, as it is more than probable, that our opposition will not end with this Campaign, we ought to endeavour to have a respectable army in the Field, in the Spring, before the Enemy can receive further reinforcements from Europe. I have the honor etc.

Just as I was upon closing my letter the inclosed most interesting and happy intelligence came to my hands.[69] It remains for us to play a counterpart, and to enable me to do it effectually I hope the whole Force of your State will pour forth.[70]

To RICHARD HENRY LEE

Matuchen Hill, Phila. Cty, October 17, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your favour of the 5th. Instant, as also that of the 11th. by Baron de Kalb, are both at hand. It is not in my power, at present, to answer your Query respecting the appointment of this Gentleman: But, Sir, if there is any truth in a report which has been handed to me; Vizt., that Congress hath appointed, or, as others say, are about to appoint, Brigadier Conway a Major General in this Army, it will be as unfortunate a measure as ever was adopted. I may add (and I think with truth) that it will give a fatal blow to the existence of the Army. Upon so interesting a subject, I must speak plain: The duty I owe my

[69] News of Burgoyne's surrender, which reached Washington in a letter from Israel Putnam of October 16.

[70] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. The paragraph of news from the north was added by Tench Tilghman.

Country; the Ardent desire I have to promote its true Interests, and justice to Individuals requires this of me. General Conway's merit, then, as an Officer, and his importance in this Army, exists more in his own imagination, than in reality: For it is a maxim with him, to leave no service of his own untold, nor to want any thing which is to be obtained by importunity: But, as I do not mean to detract from him any merit he possesses, and only wish to have the matter taken up upon its true Ground, after allowing him every thing that his warmest Friends will contend for, I would ask, why the Youngest Brigadier in the service (for I believe he is so) should be put over the heads of all the Eldest? and thereby take Rank, and Command Gentlemen, who but Yesterday, were his Seniors; Gentlemen, who, I will be bold to say (in behalf of some of them at least) of sound judgment and unquestionable Bravery? If there was a degree of conspicuous merit in General Conway, unpossessed by any of his Seniors, the confusion which might be occasioned by it would stand warranted upon the principles of sound policy; for I do readily agree that this is no time for trifling; But, at the same time, I cannot subscribe to the fact, this truth I am very well assured of (though I have not directly, nor indirectly, exchanged a Word with any one of the Brigadiers on the subject; nor am I certain that any one of them has heard of the Appointment) that they will not serve under him. I leave you to guess, therefore, at the situation this Army would be in at so important a Crisis, if this event should take place. These Gentlemen have feelings as Officers, and though they do not dispute the Authority of Congress to make Appointments, they will judge of the propriety of acting under them. In a Word, the service is so difficult, and every necessary so expensive, that almost all our Officers are tired out: Do not, therefore, afford them good pretexts for retiring: No day passes over my head without application for leave to resign; within the last six days,

I am certain, twenty Commissions, *at least,* have been tendered to me. I must, therefore, conjure you, to conjure Congress to consider this matter well, and not by a real Act of injustice, compel some good Officers to leave the service, and thereby incur a train of evils unforeseen and irremidiable.

To Sum up the whole, I have been a Slave to the service: I have undergone more than most Men are aware of, to harmonize so many discordant parts; but it will be impossible for me to be of any further service, if such insuperable difficulties are thrown in my way.

You may believe me, my good Sir, that I have no Earthly views, but the public good, in what I have said. I have no prejudice against General Conway, nor desire to serve any other Brigadier, further than I think the cause will be benefitted by it; to bring which to a speedy and happy conclusion, is the most fervent wish of my Soul.[71]

[71] Lee replied (October 20): "[I] was a good deal surprised to find you had been told Congress had appointed Gen. Conway a Major General. No such appointment has been made, nor do I believe it will, whilst it is likely to produce the evil consequences you suggest. It is very true, that both within and without doors, there have been Advocates for the measure, and it has been affirmed, that it would very agreeable to the army, whose favorite Mr. Conway was asserted to be. My judgment on this business was not formed until I received your letter. I am very sure Congress would not take any step that might injure the Army, or even have a tendency that way; and I verily believe they wish to lessen your difficulties by every means in their power, from an entire conviction that the purest motives of public good direct your actions.

"The business of a Board of War is so extensive, so important, and demanding such constant attention, that Congress see clearly the necessity of constituting a new Board, out of Congress, whose time shall be entirely devoted to that essential department. It is by some warmly proposed, that this board shall be filled by the three following gentlemen, Colonel Read, Colonel Pickering, the present Adjutant General. and Colonel Harrison, your Secretary. And that Gen. Conway be appointed A. G. in the room of Colo. Pickering. It is my wish, and I am sure it is so of many others, to know your full and candid sentiments on the subject. For my own part, I cannot be satisfied with giving any opinion on the point, until I am favored with your sentiments, which I shall be much obliged to you for Sir as soon as your time will permit.

"It has been affirmed, that Gen. Conway would quit the service if he were not made a M. General. But I have been told in confidence, that he would leave it at the end of this Campaign if he *was* appointed, unless his word of honor were taken to continue for any fixed time. And it is a question with me, whether the Advocates for Gen. Conway will not miss their aim, if he should be appointed A. General, unless he has the rank of Maj. General also. My reason for thinking so is, that I have been informed Gen. Conway desires to retire to his family, provided he can carry from this Country home with him, a rank that will raise him in France. It is very certain that

With respect to the wants of the Militia in the Articles of Clothing, you must be well convinced, that it is not in my power to supply them, in the smallest degree, when near one half of our own Men are rendered unfit for service for want of these Things. I can add no more at present, than that I am, etc.[72]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, at Peter Wentz's,
Worcester-Township, October 17, 1777.

Parole Bennington. Countersigns, Albany, Stanwix.

The troops are to be under arms at eleven o'clock this forenoon, except those men who are employed in making cartridges; and the General expects that the commanding officer of each regiment daily keeps a number of the best hands diligently working at that business, 'till further orders. The troops are to parade with one days provisions ready cooked.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at Wentz's,
Worcester Township, October 18, 1777.

Parole Reading. Countersigns Rochester, Ridgefield.

The General has his happiness completed relative to the successes of our northern Army. On the 14th. instant, General

the public good demands a speedy erecting and the judicious filling of the new Board of War, and I sincerely wish it may be done in the most proper manner. I do not imagine Congress would appoint Colo. Harrison, without first knowing whether you could spare him, nor do I think that so important an office, as that of A. G. should be touched without the maturest consideration."

This letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

Lee's decided opinions were completely at variance with what he should have known was the temper of Congress. On a report of the Board of War, one member of which was Francis Lightfoot Lee, Congress elected (December 13) Thomas Conway as inspector general with the rank of major general. No record of the vote on this is given in the *Journals of the Continental Congress,* but the word "unanimously" was first written and afterwards crossed out.

[72] The text is from the Varick Transcripts, but no draft of this letter is found in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

Burgoyne, and his whole Army, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Let every face brighten, and every heart expand with grateful Joy and praise to the supreme disposer of all events, who has granted us this signal success. The Chaplains of the army are to prepare short discourses, suited to the joyful occasion to deliver to their several corps and brigades at 5 O'clock this afternoon—immediately after which, *Thirteen* pieces of cannon are to be discharged at the park of artillery, to be followed by a *feu-de-joy* with blank cartridges, or powder, by every brigade and corps of the army, beginning on the right of the front line, and running on to the left of it, and then instantly beginning on the left of the 2nd. line, and running to the right of it where it is to end. The Major General of the day will superintend and regulate the *feu-de-joy*.

The officers commanding brigades and corps are to draw out their men, (excepting those on duty) every day, when the weather permits, to practice the most necessary manœuvres, particularly to advance in line from thence, to form columns, to go thro' passes and openings in fences, and to reduce them again; to retire in line and column, and form again; in a word, to perform all those movements, which in action, a woody and inclosed country shall make necessary.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Head Quarters, Peter Wentz's, October 18, 1777.

Dear Sir: I congratulate you upon the glorious Success of our Arms in the North an account of which is enclosed. This singular favor of Providence is to be received with thankfulness and the happy moment which Heaven has pointed out for the firm establishment of American Liberty ought to be embraced with becoming spirit; it is incumbent upon every man of influence in his country to prevail upon the militia to take the

field with that energy which the present crisis evidently demands. I have no doubt of yourself in this way. In the post which you now occupy you may render the most important services of cutting off the enemies convoys and communications with their Fleet, for this purpose you shall strain every nerve; there is another thing which I would suggest and leave you to judge of the practicability of it. I think that you might harrass the parties of the enemy on Province Island in such a manner as to produce a great Diversion in favor of Fort Mifflin. Let me again entreat you and through your means every one of any influence among the Militia, to exert it to the utmost in exciting them to the field where by seasonable Reinforcements the glorious work we have in hand will be completed. I am, etc.[73]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, October 18, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the honor to transmit you the inclosed most interesting and agreeable intelligence which I have this moment recd. from Genl Putnam. I can scarce doubt but Genl Gates has sent you an Express, but lest he, from the important Business in which he was engaged, should not have done it, I have immediately forwarded it, that you might not be debarred from so great a pleasure an instant longer than was necessary. I have the Honor etc.[74]

To COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

Head Qurs., October 18, 1777.

Sir: Lieutt. Colo. Green marched this morning to reinforce the Garrison at Fort Mifflin, with a detachment of two hundred

[73] The text is from the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 14, p. 440.

[74] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Men, and Colo. Arendt will immediately set out to take the command of that Fort. When the Garrison was first sent to that post, this Gentleman was appointed to take the command of it, but an indisposition with which he was seized prevented his entering upon it before. He is now recovered, and it devolves upon him of course. He is a Gentleman of abilities and experience in War, and I have no doubt will do justice to his trust. Colo. Angell will remain with you at Red Bank, and you will Cooperate with Colo. Arendt, in every respect. I am persuaded the greatest harmony will exist between you and him, and between the Garrisons and the Fleet, which you well know is essential to your success.

We have just received the most important and interesting intelligence from the Northward, which is contained in the following letter.

Albany, October 15, 1777.

Last night at 8 o'Clock the Capitulation, whereby Genl. Burgoyne and whole Army surrendered themselves Prisoners of War, was signed, and this morning they are to march out towards the River above fish Creek with the honours of war (and there ground their Arms) they are from thence to be marched to Massachusetts Bay. We congratulate you on this happy event, and remain. Yours &ca.

Geo Clinton.

This happy event should stimulate us to redoubled efforts in this Quarter, and particularly towards preserving the obstructions in the River from being removed. If this can be effectually done, Genl. Howe must lose all the advantages of his past success. I am etc.

P. S. Of all things, let no attention be wanting that you secure a competent supply of Ammunition. I have just received information, that the Enemy are preparing a number of floating Batteries; this is a circumstance that ought seriously to be attended to. Inform the Commodore of it. I need not repeat

my desire you will afford all the assistance from your Garrison, to the Fleet and Fort Island that they may require.

It will not be prudent to publish the approach of the reinforcement I mention, as it may perhaps get to the Enemy's ears and induce them to take measures for intercepting it.[75]

To BARON D'ARENDT

Head Quarters, October 18, 1777.

Sir: Being recovered from the indisposition under which you lately laboured, you are to proceed immediately to Fort Mifflin on Mud Island and to take the command of the Troops there and those which may be sent.

I shall not prescribe any particular line for your conduct, because I repose the utmost confidence in your bravery, knowledge and judgment; and because the mode of defence must depend on a variety of circumstances, which will be best known to those, who are on the spot. I will add, that the maintenance of this post is of the last importance to the States of America, and that preventing the Enemy from obtaining possession of it, under the smiles of Heaven, will be the means of our defeating the Army to which we are opposed, or of obliging them disgracefully to abandon the City of Philadelphia, which is now in their hands.

I have detached to day a further Reinforcement to the Garrison,[76] and have instructed Colo. Greene who commands at Red Bank to Cooperate with you, and to render you every assistance in his power. You will maintain with him, and with Commodore Hazelwood, who commands our Fleet, a good understanding and the strictest harmony. These will be essential,

[75] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade and Alexander Hamilton.
[76] See following letter to Lieut. Col. John Green.

and mutually aiding each other, I shall look forward for the most happy events.

You will be particularly attentive to the State of your ammunition and provision, advising me of the same from time to time, and of such supplies as you may judge necessary to be sent you. You will also report to me, the situation of the garrison, as often as it shall be requisite, and will not fail to transmit me frequent and the most early intelligence of every important occurrence.

I shall be done, after recommending your utmost dispatch to arrive at the garrison, and my warmest wishes that the Command may prove honourable to yourself and beneficial to America. I am &ca.[77]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN GREEN[78]

Head Quarters, Worcester, October 18, 1777.

Sir: You are immediately to proceed with the Troops under your command, by the shortest Route to Bristol, where you will cross the Delaware and continue your March by way of Haddonfield to Red Bank, from whence you are to go over to Fort Mifflin, and do every thing in your power for the support and defence of that garrison.

You will take no baggage but what is absolutely necessary, and your March should be executed with the greatest secrecy and dispatch. I have nothing further to add, than that I expect every thing in the defence of this important pass, from the unanimous council and joint exertions of the Commodore and officers at the different Posts.[79]

[77] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[78] Of the First Virginia Regiment. He was promoted to colonel of the Tenth Virginia Regiment in January, 1778; retired in January, 1783.

[79] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, October 18, 1777.

Sir: In order to put your Garrison in a more effectual state of defence, I have sent you a reinforcement of 200 men under Lt Colo. Green, who marched this morning to join you. Colo. Arendt having now recovered from his indisposition, will this day proceed to Fort Mifflin to take the command there, agreeable to my first intention. Your conduct, since you have been vested with it, has been such as to merit my intire approbation, and I am assured it will continue to be such as will finally preserve to you an equal claim to it. Colo. Arendt's knowledge and experience in War, fully intitle him to the confidence of every Officer and man under his command.

I am happy to communicate to you the important intelligence contained in the following Letter. . . .[80] I am etc.

P. S. The Enemy I am informed are preparing some floating batteries. This should be seriously attended to. You'll mention it to the Commodore. Do not mention any thing of the reinforcement, lest it may reach the Enemy's ears, and they might endeavour to intercept it.

A very intelligent Gentleman, just from Philadelphia, informs me that the Enemy find as much difficulty in raising Batteries from the Wetness of the Meadows as from any thing else and rather more. They have stopped the Breaches as well as they can; but he thinks, if a party of Men were to go privately every night or two and peirce the Banks of province Island that it would be next to impossible for them to carry on the work. Endeavour by all means to have this done, but never let the thing be spoke of before it is undertaken or it may some how or other come to the Enemy's Ears and they may take steps to prevent you.[81]

[80] The intelligence was that contained in Clinton's letter of October 15. (See Washington's letter to Col. Christopher Greene, Oct. 18, 1777, *ante*.)

[81] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton and Tench Tilghman.

*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Philadelphia County, October 18, 1777.

Dear Brother: Your kind and Affectionate Letters of the 21st. of Septr. and 2d. Instt. came Safe to hand. When my last to you was dated I know not, for truely I can say, that my whole time is so much engross'd that I have scarce a moment (but sleeping ones) for relaxation, or to endulge myself in writing to a friend. The anxiety you have been under, on Acct. of this Army, I can easily conceive; would to God there had been less Cause for it; or, that our Situation at present, was such, as to promise much from it. The Enemy crossed the Schuylkill, which, by the by, above the Falls (and the Falls you know is only five Miles from the City) is as easily crossed in any place as Potomack Run, Aquia, or any other broad and Shallow Water. rather by stratagem; tho' I do not know that it was in our power to prevent it, as their Manœuvres made it necessary for us to attend to our Stores which lay at Reading, towards which they seemed bending their course, and the loss of which must have proved our Ruin. After they had crossed, we took the first favourable oppertunity of attacking them; this was attempted by a Nights March of fourteen Miles to Surprize them (which we effectually did) so far as reaching their Guards before they had notice of our coming, and but for a thick Fog rendered so infinitely dark at times, as not to distinguish friend from Foe at the distance of 30 Yards, we should, I believe, have made a decisive and glorious day of it. But Providence or some unaccountable something, designd it otherwise; for after we had driven the Enemy a Mile or two, after they were in the utmost confusion, and flying before us in most places, after we were upon the point, (as it appeard to every body) of grasping a compleat Victory, our own Troops took fright and fled with precipitation and disorder. how to acct. for this I know not, unless,

as I before observed, the Fog represented their own Friends to them for a Reinforcement of the Enemy as we attacked in different Quarters at the same time, and were about closing the Wings of our Army when this happened. one thing indeed contributed not a little to our Misfortune, and that was want of Ammunition on the right wing, which began the Ingagement, and in the course of two hours and 40 Minutes which it lasted, had (many of them) expended the 40 Rounds which they took into the Field.

After the Ingagement we removd to a place about 20 Miles from the Enemy, to collect our Force together, to take care of our Wounded, get furnished with necessaries again, and be in a better posture, either for offensive, or defensive operations. We are now advancing towards the Enemy again, being at this time within 12 Miles.

Our loss in the late action was, in killed, wounded, and Missing, about 1000, but of the missing, many, I dare say took advantage of the times, and deserted. Genl. Nash of No. Carolina was Wounded and died two or three days after. Many valuable Officers of ours was also wounded and some killed. The Enemys loss is variously reported; none make it less than 1500 (killed and wounded) and many estimate it much larger. Genl. Agnew of theirs was certainly killed, many Officers wounded among whom some of distinction; this we certainly know that the Hospital at Philadelphia and several large Meeting Houses are filled with their wounded besides private Houses with the Horses. In a word, it was a bloody day; would to Heaven I could add, that it had been a more fortunate one for us.

Our distress on Acct. of Cloathing is great, and in a little time must be very Sensibly felt, unless some expedient can be hit upon to obtain them. We have since the Battle got in abt. 1200 Militia from Virginia; about the same number have gone

off from this State and Jersey but others are promised in lieu of them, with truth however it may be said, that this State acts most infamously, the People of it I mean as we derive little or no assistance from them. In short they are, in a manner, totally, disaffected, or in a kind of Lethargy.

The Enemy are making vigorous efforts to remove the obstructions in the Delaware, and to possess themselves of the Works which have been constructed for the Defence of them. I am doing all I can in my present situation to save them, God only, knows which will succeed.

I very sincerely congratulate you on the change in your Family. tell the young couple, after wishing them joy of their union, that it is my sincere hope, that it will be as happy, and lasting as their present joys are boundless. the Inclosed Letter of thanks to my Sister[82] for her elegant present you will please to deliver; and with sincere Affection for you all, I am, &c.

P. S. I had scarce finish'd this Letter when by express from the State of New York, I received the Important and glorious News which follows . . .[83]

I most devoutly congratulate you, my Country, and every well wisher to the Cause on this Signal Stroke of Providence. Yrs. as before.

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Head Quarters, October 19, 1777.

Sir: The fogginess of the mornings is so very great, that I think it probable, that the Enemy will attempt a surprise upon Fort Mifflin at such a time, or at night if they mean it at all.

[82] This letter is not found in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[83] The omission is the intelligence contained in Clinton's letter of October 15 announcing Burgoyne's surrender. (See Washington's letter to Col. Christopher Greene. Oct. 18, 1777, *ante*.)

To prevent this, I would recommend it to you to keep Boats rowing guard as near the shore of province Island, as they possibly can with safety. I am so fully sensible of the importance of your Station that I have sent you rather more men than were demanded for its defence, and as many of the two Rhode Island Regiments are seamen they will afford you very considerable assistance. The Enemy last night evacuated Germantown and fell down to Philadelphia. Our Army will advance towards them in the morning, and as we shall be near them, I hope we shall prevent them from detaching any considerable force to reduce Fort Mifflin. I recommend it to Colo. Smith, to endeavour by all means to keep the Breaches in the Banks of province Island open, as I am certain it will incommode them vastly in carrying on their Works.[84] I am etc.[85]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Camp, 20 Miles from Philada., October 19, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 16th. I received Yesterday morning, and was much obliged by the interesting contents.[86] The defeat of Genl. Burgoyne is a most important event, and such as must afford the highest satisfaction to every well affected American breast. Should providence be pleased to crown our Arms in the course of the Campaign, with one more fortunate

[84] On October 19 Tilghman wrote to Chief Armorer Thomas Butler that the Commander in Chief granted permission for Butler to remove from Easton to Carlisle, and as soon as any number of arms were repaired to notify the General at once.

[85] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[86] After the British captured Fort Montgomery, Putnam retreated from Peekskill to Fishkill. He wrote to Washington from there (October 16): "last Monday Genl. Parsons with about two thousand Troops marched down and took possession of Peeks Kill and the passes in the highlands he has taken a number of Cattle horses and Sheep which were Collected by the Enemy. The Enemy had burnt the buildings and barracks at the Village, and Several dwelling houses and other buildings at Peeks Kill. they have demolished Forts montgomery and Constitution, and are repairing Fort Clinton. yesterday about forty Sail passed up the river crowded with Troops, and are now at anchor above Poughkipsie the wind not favouring. we were on our march after them when I met the agreeable intelligence of the surrender of Genl Burgoine and his army as prisoners of war, a Copy of which is enclosed; and thereupon I do

stroke, I think we shall have no great cause for anxiety respecting the future designs of Britain. I trust all will be well in his good time. The obvious intention of Sr. Henry Clinton, was to relieve Genl. Burgoyne and being disappointed in that by his surrender, I presume he will make an expeditious return. I am happy to find you at the Head of so respectable a force and flatter myself, if he should Land with a view to Action, tho I do not expect it, you will give us a happy account of him. I believe, from the bravery of the Garrison of Fort Montgomery, he purchased victory at no inconsiderable expence. Genl. Campbell[87] was certainly killed. This they mention in their own printed account, but call him Colo. of the 52d Regt. He was a Genl. on the American Establishment, so declared in one of the Orderly Books which fell into our hands.

I have but little to add respecting the Situation of affairs here. They remain much as they were when I wrote you last. To remove the Obstructions in the River, seems to be a Capital object with the Enemy. Their attempts hitherto have not succeeded and I hope will not.

I am extremely sorry for the death of Mrs. Putnam and Sympathise with you upon the occasion. Remembring that all must die, and that she had lived to an honourable age, I hope you will bear the misfortune with that fortitude and complacency of mind, that become a Man and a Christian. I am etc.[88]

---

most Sincerely Congratulate your Excellency. I have halted my Troops, and am now Considering what ought to be my next movement; have sent to Genl Clinton for his Opinion on the Subject and ordered Genl Parsons to Spare no pains to find the Situation and Strength of the garrison at Kingsbridge, in order to direct my future Operations most advantageously. I have about Six thousand Troops, who are Chiefly militia I understand that Genl Campbell was killed at Fort mountgomery, and Several Field Officers and others of inferior rank. The Enemys loss by the last accounts I have been able to get is very Considerable not less than a thousand killed and wounded The two Continental Frigates and the row Galley which lay above Fort mountgomery were burnt to prevent them falling into the hands of the Enemy, for which I am very Sorrey as one I beleve might have been saved." This letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[87] Lieut. Col. Mungo Campbell, of the Fifty-second Foot. He was a brigadier general in America.

[88] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN[89]

Head Quarters, October 19, 1777.

Sir: I have yours of the 17th. and am sorry to hear, that the information you have recd. of the intent of the Enemy, to destroy the Salt works upon the Sea Coast of Monmouth County, will divert you from coming to the reinforcement of this Army; but these works are so truly valuable to the public, that they are certainly worth your attention. If you should have any force to spare, after protecting the Salt Works, I think you had better, instead of crossing the Delaware, direct it to Red Bank upon the Jersey Shore, opposite to Fort Mifflin, where we have a Body of Men posted for the defence of the Cheavaux de frize.

The Enemy, last night, left Germantown and fell down to Philada. our Army will move downwards in the Morning. I congratulate you upon our Sweep to the Northward which is beyond our utmost expectation, and I hope the example will incite us to make as compleat a conquest of Genl. Howe. I am etc.[90]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at Wentz's,
Worcester Township, October 19, 1777.

Parole Berwick. Countersigns Chester, Dover.

The Brigadiers and officers commanding brigades are to appoint General Courts Martial, in their respective brigades, for the trial of all non-commissioned officers and privates, now in the provost, belonging to their respective brigades. These courts are to sit to morrow morning, at 9 o'clock, and daily

[89] Forman was then at Freehold, N. J.

[90] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From the original in the Rutgers University Library.

afterwards, 'till all the prisoners are tried. Each court will appoint a Judge Advocate.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentences of a General Court Martial, held the 7th. and 10th. instant, whereof Col. Brodhead was president.

Capt. Crump[91] of the 1st. Virginia regiment charged with "Cowardice," is found guilty, and sentenced to be cashiered, and his name, place of abode, and his punishment, published in the News-papers of the particular state he came from, or in which he usually resides. After which, it shall be deemed scandalous, for any officer to associate with him.

Capt. John Stoner of the 10th. Pennsylv: regiment, charged with "Leaving the regiment in a cowardly manner, in the action at Chad's ford, on the Brandywine, on the 11th of September last"; found guilty of leaving the regiment improperly the 11th. of Septr. last when an action was expected, but not in a cowardly manner, and sentenced to be reprimanded by the Brigadier General of the brigade, the 10th. Pennsylv: regiment is in, in the presence of the officers of the brigade.

The Commander in Chief likewise approves the following sentences of the same Court Martial, held the 11th and 12th. instant, viz.

Lieut. William Courts of the 2nd. Maryland regiment, charged with "Cowardice at the Battle of Brandywine, on the 11th. of Septembr. last; also with giving Major Adams[92] of the 7th. Maryland regiment impertinent, and abusive language when he applied to him, to know the reason of his conduct on that day." Acquitted of the charges against him.

[91] Goodrich Crump.

[92] Maj. Peter Adams. He was lieutenant colonel commandant of the First Maryland Regiment in August, 1779; transferred to the Third Maryland Regiment in January, 1781; served to April, 1783.

Lieut. Simon Morgan of the 13th. Virginia regiment charged with "Cowardice on the 4th. instant." Acquitted with honor by the unanimous opinion of the court.

Capt. Henry Shade of the 10th. Pennsylv. regiment charged with "Absenting himself from the regiment without leave for near two months"; found guilty and sentenced to be *cashiered*.

Lieut. Rains[93] of the 15th. Virginia regt. charged with "Sending a soldier (William Blyford) to bring water in a tin Cartridge box," found, by the unanimous opinion of the court, not guilty of the charge.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentence of a General Court Martial, of the brigade of horse, held the 17th. instant, of which Col. Moylan was president viz.

Lieut. Col. Byrd,[94] charged with "Countermanding the orders, Col. Bland gave to two soldiers, to fall into their ranks, repeatedly on parade, and for disobeying the orders of Col Bland, when directed to order the said men into their ranks, on the night, the Cavalry passed the Schuylkill." Col Byrd admitted the justness of the charge. Whereupon the Court considered, whether Col. Bland had, or had not, a right, to command Lieut. Col. Byrd, while a superior officer was present, and determined that he had not.

The regimental surgeons are to make returns of the sick in camp, who are proper subjects for the hospital, to Dr. Cochran, at the Qr. Mr. General's quarters, to morrow morning at 8 o'clock precisely.

AFTER ORDERS

The whole army is to be ready to march to morrow morning, at 4 o'clock, with what tents, necessary baggage &c., are at the present encampment. If any of the troops have not already

[93] Lieut. Giles Raines. He resigned in December, 1777.

[94] Lieut. Col. Francis Otway Byrd, of the Third Continental Dragoons. He resigned in July, 1778.

drawn provisions for to morrow, it is now to be drawn and cooked without loss of time. The Commissaries of divisions are instantly to send down provisions; for their respective detachments which marched this morning, with orders to reach the detachments before they stop.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Whitpain Township, October 20, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

The troops are to draw and cook one day's provision this afternoon, and be ready to march to morrow morning, at 6 o'clock precisely; but if it should rain, then they are not to strike their tents 'till further orders.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Monday night, nine O'Clock, October 20, 1777.

Sir: As I understand that the Party of the Enemy, that crossed Schuylkill last night, are intended as a covering party to a Convoy of provisions that is expected up from Chester, I am determined to intercept them if possible upon their return. For this purpose, Genl. Greene will march with a party this Evening, and I desire that you will hold yourself in readiness to join him with the Troops under your Command. If you should be above Minor Meeting House, you will immediately fall down to that place and there wait for General Green; but if you should be between Minor and Derby, you may wait upon your Ground, only sending an Officer to meet Genl. Greene at Minor Meeting and to conduct him to you. You will keep scouts constantly out upon the Road, to know whether the convoy has passed Derby upon its return, and you are to order your parties to stop every person going towards Chester, to prevent

intelligence. You will also keep parties upon the Roads leading from the middle and from Grays Ferries, lest any more Troops should come over. I am &ca.[95]

To BARON D'ARENDT

Head Quarters, 10 O'Clock at Night, October 20, 1777.

Sir: I am just now favoured with yours of this date, and am sorry that you laboured under any mistake on account of there being two Officers of the name of Green. Colo. Christopher Greene of Rhode Island is to command at Red Bank, and Lt. Colo. John Greene of Virginia is to go into Fort Mifflin with the detachment under his command. I have no Blank Commissions with me and am therefore obliged to send you a certificate of your Rank and date of your Appointment. I beg you will make the greatest haste to throw yourself into Fort Mifflin; in the defence of which I wish you the greatest success. I am etc.[1]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., near White Marsh, October 21, 1777.

Sir: I last night had the honor to receive your Letter of the 17th Inst. with its several Inclosures.

[I heartily wish the States may feel the importance of filling their Batallions and may, in consequence of the Recommendations of Congress, adopt such Measures as will prove effectual for the purpose. I cannot but think, that heretofore there has been a want of attention in this instance, and that the subject, tho' interesting to the last degree, has been viewed with too much indifference. The Resolution respecting Deserters, I hope will also have their Notice. It is highly necessary, that they

[95] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

should come into some regulations for apprehending them and punishing those who give them countenance. If this is not done our force will be always diminishing, and no exertions in the Army will prevent it. I shall try the effects of a Proclamation,[96] on those who are now delinquents, and shall be happy if it meets with success; But confess, from the experiment I have made, that I am not sanguine in my expectations, that it will be the case.

As to the Recruiting Officers, I am constrained to observe, that, notwithstanding the Resolution of Congress of the 31st of July[97] and my circular Letter on the Subject of it, to many of the States,[98] I have not received an Account, that any Officers have been appointed, except in Connecticut and Jersey.][99]

On Sunday the Enemy evacuated Germantown and withdrew themselves within their Lines near the City. They seem determined to reduce the Forts, if possible, and for this purpose have thrown several parties over on Province Island. I was informed this afternoon, that a detachment also passed the Delaware at Coopers Ferry in the Morning. If the account be true, and I have no doubt of it, It is highly probable they mean to make an attack upon the Garrison at Red Bank. I am taking every Measure in my power, to counteract them and have written to Genls. Foreman and Newcomb of Jersey, to afford every aid they can, to relieve the Fort in case they do invest it. Against Fort Mifflin they have kept up a Canonade, more or less, every day, and have thrown Several Shells, but without doing any great damage. The explosion of one killed a private and wounded

[96] See Proclamation, Oct. 24, 1777, *post*.

[97] The resolves of July 31 recommended that the States divide their territory into recruiting districts and to appoint a manager for each district to direct the recruiting and arrange for capturing deserters.

[98] See Circular to the States, Aug. 4, 1777, *ante*.

[99] The paragraphs in brackets are marked by Secretary Charles Thomson as having been copied and sent to the States. This was done in accordance with a resolve of Congress of October 24.

three Others who were in a Barracks where it fell. they also set fire to two Ammunition boxes, with a Hot Ball on the 19th which did some injury to the Barracks. I do not recollect that we have suffered lately in any instances besides these. I have the honor &c.[1]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Head Quarters, October 21, 1777.

Dear Sir: Owing to the Rain last night and the prospect, that it might be of long continuance, the Detachment which I wrote you about was prevented marching. One is now in motion for the same purpose. I wish you to obtain the best information you possibly can, respecting the Convoy that went to Chester, and to find out whether it has returned. That the object we have in view, may be facilitated, and the Detachment may not be liable to be intercepted, You will have all the Roads leading over Schuylkill properly waylaid and secured, to prevent the Enemy from receiving intelligence of their movement. The Road also to Province Island should be attended to, lest they should get intelligence thro' that channel by the Tories and disaffected. I need not suggest to you the propriety of secrecy on this occasion. You will know that much depends upon it. If from your scouts or any other authentic advices, you find that the Convoy has returned to Philadelphia, you will immediately send to Genl. McDougall who commands the Detachment, that he not continue his march. He will pass Schuylkill at Reese App Edward's Ford, or be on the Route leading to it. Should the Convoy not have returned, some prudent, intelligent Officers from your Brigade, should be dispatched to meet the Genl. at the Ford, that he may know how and where to form a junction

[1] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. It was read in Congress on October 24.

with you. It will be also necessary to procure, two or three well affected Country Gentlemen or Farmers, acquainted with the Country to join him there, for the purpose of conducting him by the necessary Routs. I am etc.[2]

P. S. I received no Answer by the return of the Express by whom I wrote last Night; do acknowledge the Receipt of this or I shall be doubtful about its delivery.[3]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, October 21, 1777.

Sir: Your favour of the 18th. I received last night, and was extremely sorry to find from the Commodore's Letter, which made a part of your's, that you and he were not in the strictest harmony. This circumstance, I confess, gives me great uneasiness, as I well know that a good agreement between the Navy and Garrison is of the last importance, and that a want of Co-operation and every possible, mutual aid, may involve the most unhappy consequences. Persuaded of this, and recollecting the train of misfortunes that has been brought on in many instances by a difference of the like nature, I requested Baron D'Arendt, in my instructions to him, that to maintain a good understanding between him and the Commodore should be a great object of his care and attention. This I hope he will do, and I have written to the Commodore to day, recommending the same to him in the strongest Terms. Hitherto a happy agreement has done much, It has disappointed the Enemy from effecting, notwithstanding their repeated efforts, what they seemed to consider without difficulty; and should the same spirit and disposition continue, I flatter myself, they will produce the

[2] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[3] The P. S. was added to the letter sent and does not appear in the draft. This letter was sold at auction in 1907.

same ends. I have not suggested to the Commodore, the most distant idea of my having heard of any misunderstanding between you. The matter is so delicate, that I would not have him believe, that I ever suspected it. I am etc.[4]

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Head Quarters, October 21, 1777.

Sir: By this time, I imagine Colonel Arendt will have arrived at Fort Mifflin, the command of which post was originally designed for him, he was prevented, through indisposition, from entering immediately upon it, but being now recovered, it of course devolves upon him.

This Gentleman's knowledge of and experience in war, which has been the study and business of his life, induce me to expect, with intire confidence, that he will acquit himself in his command, in a manner that will do him honor. I have also the fullest reliance, that your most zealous exertions will be continued and that the happiest consequences will result from your united efforts.[5] I cannot but repeat my ardent desire, that harmony and a good understanding between the fleet and the garrisons, may be mutually cultivated. On this every thing depends; nothing but disappointment and disgrace can attend the want of it. The best designs and most important pursuits have been and ever will be defeated, by foolish differences, when they exist between those engaged in them.[6]

I have, in terms equally strong, endeavoured to impress upon Colo. Greene and Colo. Arendt the necessity of cultivating that

[4] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[5] The draft continues here: "equally conspicuous for prudence, vigor and perseverence"; but this was afterwards crossed out.

[6] The draft here has, lined out, the following: "The most upright intentions are not sufficient to influence men to those measures which their common interest demands, if once the least animosity gets footing between them. It seldom fails to pervert the judgment of the disagreeing parties and, produce a spirit of opposition, often without their being sensible of it, destructive of the end they both have in view."

harmony, I now recommend; and I earnestly hope their conduct on every occasion, may manifest a hearty disposition to promote so desireable an end. I am etc.[7]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Head Qurs., near White Marsh, October 21, 1777.

Sir: The enemy, yesterday morning threw a body of troops across the Delaware, with intention no doubt either to storm or invest Red bank. As the works there are strong, it is improbable they will hazard the loss of men, that would be likely to attend an assault, but will, I imagine endeavour, by a blockade, to oblige the garrison to surrender. On this supposition, I am to request in the most earnest manner, that you will use your utmost exertions, immediately to collect as large a body of militia, as you possibly can, and hasten them to the relief of that post. It is to be apprehended, its supply of stores and provisions, may not be as ample as could be wished. This makes it necessary you should lose not a moments time to give it all the succour you can. I have written to General Newcomb on the same subject.

You need not be told, that should that post fall into the enemy's hands, we not only suffer the immediate loss of the garrison, its cannon, and stores; but all our endeavours, after that should happen, to defend the obstructions in the river, would be fruitless. To you no argument need be used, either to explain the importance of the object, or to stimulate your zeal for its preservation.

What I have here said is on the supposition, that the danger to the Salt Works, which induced you to go down that way, is not so great as to require the whole force, you may be able to get together to guard against it. I do not mean to neglect the

[7] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

precautions necessary for their security, they are of too much importance; but as the defence of Red bank is an object of the greatest moment, I would wish you to do as much as you possibly can towards it, consistent with a proper degree of attention to the Salt Works. If circumstances are not such as to make your presence there essentially necessary, I would wish you to command the body of militia you may be able to spare for Red bank. I am etc.[8]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Whitpain Township, October 21, 1777.

Parole Chatham. Countersign Camden, Coventry.

A General Court Martial is to set to morrow morning at 9. o'clock at the Quarter Master General's quarters for the trial of all prisoners which shall be brought before them. Col. Grayson[9] is appointed president of this court.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Whitpain Township, October 22, 1777.

Parole Lebanon. Countersigns Windsor, Warwick.

Such of the troops as have not already drawn provisions, for to day and to morrow, are to do it immediately, and cook the whole; and all be ready to march on the shortest notice.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Qurs., 15 Miles from Philadelphia,
October 22, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of the 20th. inclosing a list of the Gentlemen appointed to raise recruits and apprehend

[8] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[9] Col. William Grayson, of an Additional Continental regiment.

deserters in the State of Jersey. I do not recollect the Resolve of the 31st of July, to which you refer, but I imagine you will find it fully explained by a Resolve passed the 17th. Inst., by which, I am to appoint an Officer in each State, to Superintend the persons appointed by the State. The State is to furnish the Officer of my appointment with Money, from time to time which he is to distribute to the Commissioners, and draw upon Congress for the Amount. You will have Copies of this Resolve transmitted to you by the president of Congress, with instructions thereon.

The Enemy evacuated Germantown two days ago and withdrew themselves within their Lines round the City. They have not yet been able to make any impression upon Fort Mifflin and scarce any upon the Chevaux de frize. They yesterday Morning threw a party over into Jersey at Cooper's Ferry, whether with an intent to invest Red Bank or Collect Cattle I do not know, but I fear the former. I have Wrote pressingly to General Newcomb, to collect as many Militia as possible, and I have also sent an Express to Genl Forman, desiring him, if he could spare any Men from protecting the Salt Works, to March them to Red Bank. I dont know to what particular study Genl Burgoyne will now apply himself, but he will have need of all his Philosophy to support himself in his present Situation, after the many vain threats that he has uttered and bombast proclamations that he has published. I have the honor etc.[10]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, October 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: It gives me real pain to learn, that the declining state of your health owing to your unwearied application to

[10] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

public business, and the situation of your private affairs oblige you to relinquish a station, though but for a time, which you have so long filled with acknowledged propriety. Motives as well of a personal as of a general concern make me to regret the necessity that forces you to retire, and to wish your absence from office may be of as short a duration as possible. In the progress of that intercourse which has necessarily subsisted between us, the manner in which you have conducted it on your part, accompanied with every expression of politeness and regard to me, gives you a claim to my warmest acknowledgments.

I am not so well informed of the situation of affairs up the North River as to be able to give you any satisfactory advice about your route. I should rather apprehend it might be unsafe for you to travel that way at this time, and would recommend, if you can do it, without any material inconvenience, to defer your journey, 'till there is some change in affairs there, or till matters have taken a more settled form. If you should however resolve to proceed immediately, and will be pleased to signify the time, you will be met by an escort of horse at Bethlehem, which will accompany you to General Putnam's camp, where you will be furnished with another escort in the further prosecution of your journey.

I am extremely obliged to you for the tender of your services, during your intended residence at Boston; and shall always be happy when leisure and opportunity permit you to give me the pleasure of hearing from you. I have the honor &c.[11]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Qurs., near White Marsh, October 22, 1777.

Sir: I am favored with yours of the 18th with a Return of our Military Stores in the different States. I sincerely wish they were

[11] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The editor is indebted to Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J., for a photostat of this letter.

more numerous, but I hope the Gentlemen of the Secret Committee, in whose department it falls to import these Articles, have been taking care to procure a further supply. Major Nicholas,[12] who is just returned from the Eastward, informs me, that a large quantity of Lead has lately arrived at Boston, upon Private Account; he, finding that lead was wanting at Springfield, wrote to Genl. Heath to have it purchased up. But for fear it may be neglected, I shall write to Genl. Heath and I think the Board had better also direct the Continental Agent at Boston to secure it. I hope that the Council of this State may adopt and carry into execution, any plan that the Board may point out for the Collection of Shoes, Blankets &c. they must be had upon some terms or other and I will readily contribute any Assistance that may be demanded of me.

I dont know how it would answer to make Cartouch Boxes of painted Canvass, instead of Leather, but I fear it would not do, as I am pretty certain that after they had been wet once or twice and little worn, that they would not turn rain. I would not wish to see a rash experiment tried upon an Accoutrement, on the goodness of which our whole safety depends. If the wood of the Cartouch box is not intirely covered with leather, it must be made of seasoned Oak or some hard Wood, for I am convinced, that poplar, of which they are commonly made, would admit water very easily.

Congress have reason to complain of my not making them General Returns of the Army more frequently, but I hope they will excuse me, when they consider that I have not been for some time past two days in a place, and I assure you it sometime happens, that the Officers have not paper to make the necessary Returns. But I will take the first Opportunity of making a full and regular one. I am etc.[13]

---

[12] Maj. Samuel(?) Nicholas, of the Continental Marines.
[13] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, October 22, 1777.

Sir: Your Letter of 18th. Instt. I received last night wherein I find you express a desire to be recalled from Fort Mifflin to join your Corps.

I found it absolutely necessary to reinforce your Garrison and that it was impracticable to do it consistently, without supersedeing you, this determined me to send the Baron D'Arendt, as the person originally mentioned to you to command there, but would have omitted it (after you remained some time in Command), had not the additional Detachment been judged expedient for the defence of so important a Post. This I mention, that you may be satisfied of the real motives in this transaction, that a desire to supersede you had no influence in it; but on the contrary, that your conduct and exertions, since the commencement of your command there, have been such as merit my approbation and thanks. I now leave it to your own option whether to rejoin your Corps or continue where you are, and have no doubt but you will determine upon that which in your opinion is most Serviceable and consistent with the character of an Officer.

There should be no hesitation in burning the Barrack Masters House, if it is found in the least to impede an opposition or cover the Enemy in advance. I am &ca.[14]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, 15 Miles from Philadelphia,
October 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 9th. and am glad to hear of the different arrivals of arms, tents and cloathing, the latter of which is exceedingly wanted in this army, and

[14] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

I hope the agents will immediately forward the proportion intended for them. Major Nicholas, who is just returned from the Eastward, informs me, that a large parcel of lead has lately arrived at Boston upon private account. As that article is likely to become scarce, I desire it may be immediately purchased up and sent on to the Elaboratories. I have wrote to the board of war and desired them also to direct the Continental agent to secure the lead.

I congratulate you upon the glorious success of our arms to the Northward. The complete captivity of Burgoyne and his army exceeds our most sanguine expectations. I have not yet heard of Sir. Harry Clinton's falling down the North River again, but I imagine he will not remain there after hearing of Burgoyne's destruction. The enemy have been busily employed, ever since they got possession of Philadelphia, in endeavouring to remove the obstructions in the Delaware, but hitherto without effect. The day before Yesterday they evacuated Germantown and withdrew within their lines just upon the environs of the city. I have just sent to Congress for commissions for Lee's and Jackson's regiments. If they come to this army they will be ready for them here; if they are by any means detained upon the North River, I will send them up to them. I am etc.[15]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL SILAS NEWCOMB

Head Qurs., October 22, 1777.

Sir: The Enemy seem determined to possess themselves, if possible, of the Forts on the River. Their operations against Fort Mifflin have been carried on for several days with unremitted attention, and from various accounts they mean to storm Red Bank or to invest it. For this purpose, it is confidently said,

[15] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. From the original in the Boston Public Library.

that a pretty considerable Detachment crossed the River Yesterday morning. It is of infinite importance to us, to prevent them from effecting these objects. I therefore request you to give every aid in your power to that end. If they have or attempt to invest the Fort, I hope you will be able to fall on their Rear with such a respectable number of Militia, as to make them decline the project, and if that should not be the case, it may be the means of further Detachments being sent from the City to their support, which will afford us perhaps a favourable opportunity of striking a successful blow. I will not enlarge upon the Subject. You are sufficiently impressed with the importance of it, and I trust you will exert yourself to render every service you can. The earliest aid should be given, delay may bring on a loss extremely interesting in its nature and irreparable. I am &ca.

P. S. I cannot forbear observing to you, and the Inhabitants of Jersey, the dreadful consequences that must follow should the Enemy keep possession of Philadelphia, and that if they get Red Bank into their hands, a considerable force must consequently be kept there by them, to the distress and terror of those within their reach, this I hope will stimulate the Militia to a speedy and vigorous opposition.

I must request that you do every thing in your power to throw in supplies of provision to Fort Mifflin and Red Bank, this I concieve to be a matter of the utmost importance, as the Enemy may intend to starve them out.[16]

To MAJOR JOHN CLARK, JUNIOR

Camp near White Marsh, October 23, 1777.

Dear Sir: His Excellency received last night your favour of yesterday. He thanks you much for your vigilance and exertions, and wishes you to continue them for obtaining such

[16] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the P. S. is in that of Richard Kidder Meade.

information as may be material respecting the Enemy. For this purpose and the expences attending Expresses, he sends you one hundred Dollars, which you will find inclosed. He is not so sanguine, as you are, about the Enemy's intentions to retreat. Before they do it, it is likely, they must be intirely convinced of the impracticability of carrying Fort Mifflin and that of Red Bank. I hope they will. I am etc.

P. S. You will pay Mr. Dunwoodie what he deserves, and keep an account of your disbursements.[17]

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Camp near White Marsh, October 23, 1777.

Dear Sir: The Enemy are exerting every nerve to reduce the Forts on the Delaware, viewing them as insurmountable obstacles to their holding Philadelphia, if they remain in our hands. Against that on Mud Island, they have been carrying on their operations with great activity and industry for many days, but as yet without success. They also sent a considerable Detachment across the Delaware yesterday morning, and in the course of the day, to operate against that at Red Bank. It is probable, from the state of the Latter, they will not attempt it by storm, but will try to gain it by an investiture. The importance of it to us, is obvious, but unhappily our circumstances will not admit such Detachments to be sent from hence as will oblige the Enemy to raise the seige. This constrains me to look to your State for all the assistance you can possibly afford. I have written to Genls. Forman and Newcomb on the subject, but the aids they can give will probably not be sufficient. If circumstances will permit, considering the situation of affairs at the Northward and here, I wish you to throw all the weight you can into the same scale, and that as early as possible. I have sent Colo. Fitzgerald, who will lay before you a full state of matters with us,

[17] Harrison wrote and signed this letter, by direction of Washington.

and my sentiments upon them, which will enable you to form a judgment of that line of conduct which you can pursue with the most propriety. To him I refer you. I am etc.

P. S. You will at once perceive the fatal consequences to the United States in General and to Jersey in particular, should the Enemy be able to establish themselves in Philadelphia and at Red Bank. Unfortunately, our views in most instances have been too much divided and the greater objects have been neglected, in much less interesting pursuits. Could we unite and destroy Genl. Howe's Army, every part would be secure, but while we extend our force to protect every place, none will or can, therefore to defeat him demands the exertions of all. I wish the people were convinced of these important truths, and would view matters as they ought.[18]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Whitpain Township, October 23, 1777.

Parole Boston. Countersigns Cambridge, Roxbury.

The Waggon Master General is immediately to make a return of the waggons with the army, therein shewing, particularly, the uses to which they are applied, and the divisions and brigades, in which they are employed.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Whitpain Township, October 24, 1777.

Parole Princeton. Countersigns Trenton, Brunswick.

Many abuses having been committed in impressing horses for the army, The Commander in Chief positively orders, that henceforward, no horse be impressed by any member of the army, without an order therefor from the Q Mr General, or

[18] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

one of his deputies or assistants, or a special order from the Commander in Chief.

The Brigade Quarter Masters are to make returns, to morrow afternoon, at five o'clock, of all the riding and bat-horses used in their respective brigades, and the persons and their ranks, and in whose service they are used.

A General Court Martial, of which Genl. Sullivan is appointed president, is to sit to morrow morning, at nine o'clock, at the president's quarters, for the trial of Brigadier General Wayne, upon this charge against him; "That he had timely notice of the enemy's intention, to attack the troops under his command on the night of the 20th. Ult.[19] and notwithstanding that intelligence, neglected making a disposition until it was too late, either to annoy the enemy, or make a retreat without the utmost danger and confusion." Brigadiers General Muhlenberg, Weedon, Conway and Huntington. Colonels Stevens,[20] Dayton, McClenahan,[21] Stewart[22] and Bradley[23] and Lt. Cols. Davies,[24] De-Hart[25] and Thackston,[26] are appointed members.

A Return is to be made of swords wanting in the brigade of horse; as deficiencies may now be supplied.

Altho' the enterprize under General McDougall proved fruitless, by reason that the enemy had abandoned the post intended to have been attacked, yet the Commander in Chief deems his thanks due to the officers and men, detached for that service, who two nights successively, crossed and recrossed the Schuylkill, and to those also, under Generals Sullivan and Greene, who were designed to facilitate General McDougall's

[19] At Paoli, Pa.
[20] Col. Edward Stevens, of the Tenth Virginia Regiment.
[21] Col. Alexander McClanachan, of the Seventh Virginia Regiment.
[22] Col. Walter Stewart, of a Pennsylvania State regiment.
[23] Col. Philip Burr Bradley, of the Fifth Connecticut Regiment.
[24] Lieut. Col. William Davies, of the Fifth Virginia Regiment.
[25] Lieut. Col. William De Hart, of the Second New Jersey Regiment.
[26] Lieut. Col. James Thrackston, of the Fourth North Carolina Regiment.

operation, for the fortitude and chearfulness with which they went thro' the night marches and fatigues, which occurred in the expedition.

AFTER ORDERS

The General Court Martial for the trial of Brigadier Genl. Wayne is called at his own request.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, October 24, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the honor of transmitting to Congress the inclosed copies of sundry letters just now received, and congratulate them most sincerely on the important intelligence which they contain.[27] The damage the Enemy have sustained in their Ships, I hope will prevent their future attempts to gain the

[27] These were from Maj. Samuel Ward and Commodore John Hazelwood.

Ward stated: "On the 21st Inst. Four Battalions of Germans, amounting to about 1200 men commanded by Baron Donop Colo. Commandant landed at Cooper's Ferry and Marched the same Evening to Haddonfield. At 3 o'Clock Yesterday Morning, they marched for this place; when the guard at Timber Creek bridge were informed of their approach, they took up that Bridge, and the Enemy filed off to the Left, and crossed at a Bridge four miles above. Their Advanced Parties were discovered within a quarter of a mile of the fort at 12 o'clock; At half after 4 oClock P. M. They sent a flag to summons the Fort, who was told, that it should never be surrendered. At three quarters after four, they began a Brisk Canonade, and soon after advanced in two Columns to the Attack. They passed the Abattis, gained the ditch, and some few got over the Pickets, but the fire was so heavy, that they soon were drove out again with considerable loss, and retreated precipitately towards Haddonfield. The Enemy's loss amounts to 1 Lieut. Col., 3 Capts., 4 Lieuts., and near 70 killed and the Baron Donop, his Brigade Major, a Captain-Lieutenant and upwards of 70 non-Commissioned Officers and Privates wounded and taken Prisoners. We are also informed, that several waggons are taken. *The Colo. proposes to send the wounded Officers to Burlington.* He also enjoins me to tell your Excellency, that both Officers and Privates behaved with the greatest Bravery. The Action Lasted 40 minutes."

The Hessians confessed to a loss of 402 killed and wounded, of whom 26 were officers. The American loss was 14 killed, 23 wounded, and 1 captain, who was reconnoitering, taken prisoner. Donop died of his wounds three days after the action.

The naval part of the action was described by Commodore Hazelwood in a more complete report of October 26: "While the Fort at Red Bank was attacked, the Augusta of 64 Guns, the Roebuck of 44, Two Frigates, the Merlin of 18, and a Galley, came up through the lower Chevaux de Frieze, which were attack'd by the floating

passage of the River, and the repulse of the Troops under Count Donnop and his Captivity, I flatter myself will also be attended with the most happy consequences. At the time these Actions happened, a Supply of ammunition was on the way to the Forts, and I have also ordered a further Quantity to be immediately sent. By Colo. Blaine one of the issuing Commissaries who left Red Bank, in the morning before the action, I am happily informed, that he had thrown considerable supplies of provision into both garrisons, he also adds, that he came from Jersey this morning, and that the Enemy had recrossed the Delaware and returned to Philadelphia.

I have written to Colonel Greene, that the Prisoners must be immediately sent from his Post, and Mr. Clymer,[28] a Deputy under Mr. Boudinot,[29] will set out to morrow morning to make a proper disposition of them.

Batterys and some of the Galleys, while the rest of the Galleys was flanking the enemy, that were attacking the Fort where the Galleys did much execution. As soon as the enemy was repuls'd at the Fort, the Ships finding so hot a fire, endeavour'd to fall down, but the Augusta and Merlin ran aground. Early next morning the Galleys and floating Batteries attacked them, when an incessant fire was kept up. About 11 o'Clock I believe one of our Shot set the Augusta on fire, and at 12 she blew up, being aground. The engagement continued with the other Ships, and at 3 in the afternoon, the Merlin we think also took fire and blew up, then the firing ceased on both sides. The Roebuck dropped down to the lower Chevaux de Frieze and went thro'. Yesterday I went down to the Wrecks, and found that the Guns of both ships may be got out, if the enemy's Ships can be kept at a proper distance. We brought off two 24 Pounders, and as soon as possible shall endeavour for the rest."

Commoodore Hazelwood complained of his lack of men. "The fleet is now so poorly Mann'd," he wrote, "and the constant cry from Fort Mifflin is to guard that Post, that I know not how to act without more assistance." There had been numerous desertions from the fleet. Lieutenant Colonel Smith had written (October 2): "So general a discontent and panic runs through that part of the fleet, that neither Officer nor men can be confided in, they conceive the River is lost, if the enemy gets possession of Billingsport nothing can convince them of the contrary and I am persuaded as soon as that fort is taken that almost all the fleet will desert, indeed from their disposition I am induced to believe they will openly avow themselves and desert Officers with their Crew (which has been the case with two) perhaps with their Gallies."

These letters, dated Oct. 22, 1777, are in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[28] Daniel Clymer. Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners.

[29] Elias Boudinot. He was Commissary General of Prisoners of the Continental Army; resigned in May, 1778; later a Delegate to Congress from New Jersey and President of Congress.

It gives me great concern, to inform Congress, that after all my exertions we are still in a distressed situation for want of Blankets and Shoes. At this time, no inconsiderable part of our force are incapable of acting thro' the deficiency of the latter, and I fear, without we can be relieved, it will be the case with two thirds of the Army in the course of a few days.

I am and have been waiting with the most anxious impatience, for a confirmation of Genl Burgoynes surrender. I have received no further intelligence respecting it, except vague report, than the first accounts which came to hand so long ago as Saturday morning. If Congress have had authentic advices about it, I wish to be favored with them. I have the honor etc.[30]

To COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

Head Quarters, October 24, 1777.

Sir: I have just received a letter from Major Ward,[31] written by your desire, giving an account of your success over the enemy, on the 22d. instant. I heartily congratulate you upon this happy event, and beg you will accept my most particular thanks, and present the same to your whole garrison both officers and men. Assure them, that their gallantry and good behaviour meet my warmest approbation.

All the prisoners should be immediately removed to a distance from your post to some convenient and safe place. I am sorry you have thought of sending the officers to Burlington, as they would be in no kind of security at that place, but might be taken and carried off by the enemy with the greatest ease. Immediately on the receipt of this, you will be pleased to have all the prisoners both officers and men conveyed to Morris Town.

[30] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. It was read in Congress on October 27 and referred to the Committee of Intelligence.

[31] Maj. Samuel Ward, jr., of the First Rhode Island Regiment. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in May, 1778; retired in January, 1781.

The wounded can be accommodated in the hospitals there and in its neighbourhood. Count Donop in particular is a man of importance, and ought by all means to be taken care of.

With respect to the arms you have taken, as they are no doubt good, it will be well to exchange all the indifferent arms you may have for them, but after that is done, I would recommend to you to send all your superfluous arms away. They can be put in the waggons that are on the way to you with ammunition. I am etc.

P. S. Such wounded as are not fit to be removed, you will take their paroles to consider themselves as prisoners at all contingencies.[32]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, October 24, 1777.

Dear Sir: It ever has been, and I hope ever will be, a ruling principle with me, to endeavour to do impartial justice to every officer over whom I have the honor to preside. I shall therefore, in answer to the queries, contained in your letter of this date,[33] readily declare.

That although I ascribed the misfortune which happened to us on the 11th. of Septr., principally to the information of Major Spear,[34] transmitted to me by you; yet I never blamed you for conveying that intelligence. On the contrary, considering from whom, and in what manner it came to you, I should have thought you culpable in concealing it. The Majors rank, reputation and knowledge of the country, gave him a full claim to credit and attention.

His intelligence was no doubt a most unfortunate circumstance, as it served to derange the disposition that had been

[32] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[33] Sullivan's letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.
[34] Maj. Joseph (?) Spear, or Spears. He is said to have been of the Pennsylvania Militia.

determined on, in consequence of prior information of the enemy's attempt to turn and attack our right flank, which ultimately proving true, too little time was left us, after discovering its certainty, to form a new plan, and make adequate arrangements to prevent its success. Hence arose that hurry and consequently confusion which afterwards ensued. But it was not your fault, that the intelligence was eventually found to be erroneous!

With respect to your other quære, whether your being posted on the right was to guard that flank, and if you had neglected it? I can only observe, that the obvious, if not declared purpose of your being there, implied every necessary precaution for the security of that flank. But it is at the same time to be remarked, that all the fords above Chads, which we were taught to apprehend danger from, were guarded by detachments from your division; and that we were led to believe, by those whom we had reason to think well acquainted with the Country, that no ford above our picquets could be passed, without making a very circuitous march.

Upon the whole then, no part of your conduct, preceding the action, was, in my judgment, reprehensible. What happened on your march to the field of battle, your disposition there, and behaviour during the action, I can say nothing about, no part 'till the retreat commenced having come under my immediate observation. I can only add therefore, that the whole tenor of your conduct, so far as I have had opportunities of judging, has been spirited and active. I am etc.[35]

PROCLAMATION

Head Quarters, October 24, 1777.

Whereas sundry Soldiers belonging to the Armies of the said States have Deserted from the same; These are to make known,

[35] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

to all those who have so offended, and who shall return to their respective Corps, or surrender themselves to the Officers appointed to receive Recruits and Deserters in their several States, or to any Continental Commissioned Officer before the first day of January next, that they shall obtain a full and free pardon. And I do further declare, to all such obstinate offenders, as do not avail themselves of the indulgence hereby offered, that they may depend, when apprehended, on being prosecuted with the utmost rigour and suffering the punishment justly due to crimes of such enormity.

Lest the hope of escaping punishment by remaining undiscovered, should tempt any, to reject the Terms now held out to them, they may be assured, that the most effectual measures will be pursued in every State for apprehending and bringing them to a speedy trial.[36]

To CAPTAIN ISAIAH ROBINSON[37]

Head Quarters, October 25, 1777.

Sir: Your favor of the 20th. I duly receivd. It gives me pain to find, that the Strictest harmony and Confidence do not prevail among the Navy Officers. These are essential to our Success at this time, and I hope the Gentlemen concern'd in that line, who know their importance and the fatal miscarriages, that have been produced in many instances by a different disposition, will cultivate them with assiduity and ease. I have ever urged this Conduct to those, under my Command, and in a particular manner, I enjoin'd the Officers detach'd to the Forts, to observe a good agreement with those of the Navy; at the same time, I recommended to the Commodore that it should be mutual.

The matters between you and Him, I mean the Navy Officers under different denominations, is so delicate in its nature that

[36] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[37] Of the Continental Navy, then commanding the *Andrea Doria*.

I would with reluctance suppose it to exist. I trust it is done away, and that in future, there will be the happiest understanding and participation of Councils between the Whole.

To this period your General exertions have done you honor, and given you a high claim to the thanks of the public and to mine in a special manner. I am, etc.[38]

To MAJOR GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Head Qurs., 15 Miles from Philada., October 25, 1777.

Dear Sir: It gives me great pleasure to find by yours of the 20th. that you are likely to save your leg, and that you think you will be able to take the field in the Spring should there be occasion.[39] I congratulate you upon the glorious termination of the Campaign against Genl. Burgoyne, which I hope will in its consequences free us from all our oppressors. Ever since the Enemy got possession of Philadelphia, their whole attention has been paid to reducing the Forts upon Delaware and endeavouring to remove the Chevaux de frize. After near a month's work they removed two of the lower Chevaux de frize, thro' which opening Six of their Ships of War passed upon the morning of the 22d. and began a most furious Cannonade upon Fort Mifflin and our Ships and Gallies at the upper frize, but they were so warmly opposed that they were obliged to sheer off. In going down, a 64 Gun Ship ran on ground, She took fire and blew up. Our Gallies overtook and destroyed a Frigate. The remainder made the best of their way down. The day following Count Donop, with about 1200 Men, attempted to carry our Fort at Red Bank on the Jersey shore, by storm; he was

[38] Contemporary copy by George Lewis.

[39] Lincoln had been wounded in the leg in a skirmish with the British the day after the Battle of Bemis Heights, N. Y. He did not rejoin the army until August, 1778.

repulsed, with the loss of about 400 killed and wounded, among the latter the Count himself who is prisoner. Since this they have remained tolerably quiet by land and water. Genl. Howe has withdrawn himself within his lines thrown round Philadelphia. I observe by the Terms of Genl. Burgoyne's Capitulation, that an Exchange of prisoners may probably take place; if so, the number of Officers taken in his army will liberate all ours; in that case, Mr. Douglass[40] your Aid de Camp will soon be redeemed. But if this exchange should not take place, you may depend that Mr. Douglass shall be called for as soon as it comes to his turn. For I have made it an invariable rule to give a preference to those who have been longest in Captivity. I most sincerely wish you a speedy and effectual cure, as I am etc.[41]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

October 25, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your favour of the 20th. I received Yesterday Afternoon and feel much for the Havoc and devastation committed by the Enemy employed on the North River. Their maxim seems to be, to destroy where they cannot conquer and they hesitate not, to pursue a conduct that would do dishonour to the Arms of Barbarians.[42] I know your feelings upon the occasion, and regret, that you were not in a situation to check their progress. This procedure, I hope, will call forth the exertions of all, and that in the course of events, we shall have more solid grounds for triumph. A Copy of the Articles respecting Genl. Burgoynes surrender reached me this morning for the first time.

[40] Ephraim Douglas. He had been taken prisoner at Bound Brook, N. J., in April, 1777; exchanged in November, 1780; lieutenant in the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment in January, 1781; transferred to the Second Pennsylvania Regiment in January, 1781; served to June, 1783.

[41] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[42] Burning of Kingston, N. Y

When Genl. Putnam informed me of the capture of Fort Montgomery, he wrote the Congress upon the Subject. By the first opportunity I shall transmit them a Copy of your Letter now before me. I am happy you detained Colo. Malcom, as you found him so serviceable, and consent to his remaining as long as you shall think him of essential use. As to his Regiment, it is now here. Had I been apprized of the circumstance you mention, before it marched, I would not have ordered it to join this Army.

In the afternoon of the 22d., a Detachment of Hessian Troops, amounting to about Twelve Hundred, under the command of Count Donop, attempted to storm our Fort at Red Bank, and were repulsed with the loss of between four and five Hundred Men, in killed, wounded and prisoners. Among the prisoners is Count Donop himself, who is badly wounded. We only lost 32 in killed and wounded, chiefly the latter. The next morning several of the Enemy's Ships of War warped thro the lower tier of Chevaux de frize, and attacked Fort Mifflin on Mud Island and our Gallies and Armed Vessels which were posted near it. The Cannonade was severe and of long continuance but without other damage to us than the loss of three or four men killed and wounded. The Enemy on their part, lost two Ships. One said to be the Augusta of 64 Guns, the other a Frigate of 32. The first, in returning, got aground, and fearing that she would fall into our hands, they burnt her themselves. The latter accidentally took fire and was consumed. According to report, the Roebuck also suffered considerably. They seemed much determined to carry these posts. I hope these disappointments, they have met with will prevent their further attempts. However, they are not done, there having been a Cannonade this morning. I am etc.[43]

[43] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

*To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Skippack Road, 15th. Mile Stone, October 25, 1777.

Dear Sir: My Letter of the 21st. Instt. (which I hope has got safe to your hands) would amply convey to you my Ideas of the Importance of Red Bank, and leaves me little to add on that head, saving, that the more it is considered, the more essential it appears, to use every possible means for its preservation.

The late check which the Enemy met with, in attempting to storm the Fort at that place is a most fortunate event; but I am far from conceiving that it will deter them from endeavouring by slower, and more effectual means, to possess themselves of it; to make themselves perfect Masters of the River and the defences of the Chevaux de Frieze it is essential to them to occupy that spot. It is equally, essential to us to disappoint them, by every exertion in our power; I wish therefore, most ardently, to hear of your being in that Neighbourhood with a respectable body of Militia, as the preservation of the Forts will, in the judgment of most men, rid Phila. of their present guests and Jersey of the disagreeable Situation of being between two Fires for it is not to be expected that the Enemy will remain long quiet after having once established themselves in the City. Jersey must then afford them Supplies, be ravaged with Impunity or a force constantly kept on foot for protection of the Inhabitants: how burthensome this will be, let the people themselves judge.

Colo. Green who Commands at red bank seems to apprehend nothing from a storm, but every thing from an Investiture, as the work is contracted, and unprovided with the smallest defence against Shells, which would drive them out immediately. a seige therefore must be prevented, and this cannot be prevented without the assistance of your Militia.

I am too well acquainted with your activity and Zeal to add more on this head, and therefore conclude with strong assurances of being Dr. Sir Yr., etc.

CIRCULAR TO DRAGOON COMMANDERS[44]

Head Quarters, October 25, 1777.

Sir: I am sorry to find, that the liberty I granted to the light dragoons of impressing horses near the enemy's lines has been most horribly abused and perverted into a mere plundering scheme. I intended nothing more than that the horses belonging to the disaffected, in the neighbourhood of the British Army, should be taken for the use of the dismounted dragoons, and expected, that they would be regularly reported to the Quarter Master General, that an account might be kept of the number and the persons from whom they were taken, in order to a future settlement. Instead of this, I am informed that under pretence of the authority derived from me, they go about the country, plundering whomsoever they are pleased to denominate Tories, and converting what they get to their own private profit and emolument. This is an abuse that cannot be tolerated, and as I find the license allowed them, has been made a sanction for such mischeivous practices, I am under the necessity of recalling it altogether. You will therefore immediately make it known to your whole corps, that they are not under any pretence whatever to meddle with the horses or other property of any inhabitant whatever, on pain of the severest punishment; for they may be assured, as far as it depends upon me, that military execution will attend all those who are caught in the like practice hereafter.

[44] Comte Pulaski; Cols. Theodorick Bland, of the First; Elisha Sheldon, of the Second; George Baylor, of the Third; and Stephen Moylan, of the Fourth Continental Dragoons.

The more effectually to put it out of their power to elude this prohibition, all the horses in your corps, in the use of the non commissioned officers and privates, not already stamped with the Continental brand, are without loss of time to be brought to the Qr. Master General to receive that brand; and henceforth, if any of them shall be found with horses that are without it, they shall be tried for marauding and disobedience of orders.

I am fully confident, you will be equally disposed with me to reprobate and abolish the practice complained of, and will adopt the strictest measures to fulfill the intention of this letter, and prevent its continuance in future. I am etc.[45]

To MAJOR ROBERT BALLARD[46]

Head Quarters, October 25, 1777.

Sir: I received your favour of the 23d. Instt. and am obliged by the intelligence it contains. The conduct of your Garrison has equaled my most sanguine expectations, and merit my warmest acknowledgments and thanks. Be assured no exertions of mine shall be wanting to give you every support in my power; Ammunition is now on its way to the Forts, and a supply of that Article, shall not be wanting, when possible for me to procure it. I am &ca.[47]

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Head Quarters, October 25, 1777.

Sir: I was last night favoured with yours of the 23d. Give me leave to congratulate you upon your Victory, and return my thanks to the Officers and Men for their gallant behaviour; to those particularly who were more immediately engaged. I hope

[45] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[46] Of the First Virginia Regiment. Later he was colonel of this regiment.
[47] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

Colo. Greene's success by land added to yours upon the Water, will make the Enemy cautious of attempting either again. You may depend upon being supplied with Ammunition while there is a possibility of conveying to you. 1000 Cartridges for 18. and 640 for 24 pounders were upon the way down when you wrote, and I hope have arrived before this. I have also this morning ordered down two Waggon loads of Ammunition from hence. I will do every thing in my power, ill as I can afford the Men, to reinforce the fleet. In the mean time, you must make the best shift you can by borrowing of Colo. Greene upon an emergency. There are about 100 seamen employed in the New Frigates that lay up at Whitehill. I have been thinking that they might be scutled and sunk for the present, and all the Men, except a few to be left for ferry men, sent down to you. I have wrote to the Continental Navy Board at Bordentown for their opinion upon the expediency of this matter, and shall be obliged to you for yours. I have another Reason for scutling them, which is, that I fear the Enemy will possess themselves of them, and with the assistance of them and the Delaware Frigate very much annoy your Rear. I am etc.[48]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Whitpain Township, October 25, 1777.

Parole Braintree. Countersigns Concord, Danvers.

The intention of a certificate upon pay abstracts under the hands of the Brigadiers, was, that the truth of them should be made apparent, upon a comparison with the weekly returns, and unless the Brigadiers make such comparison, the signing their names is but an empty form. The Commander in Chief therefore requires, that henceforward the Brigadiers, or officers

[48] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

commanding brigades that are without brigadiers, carefully compare the pay-abstracts, with the weekly returns, before they make a certificate concerning them.

The Commander in Chief orders that a weekly return be made, of each brigade to morrow morning at ten o'clock without fail. The returns to be made with all possible exactness, and of those men returned on Command, their respective commands and the number on each, are to be pointed out. The General will look to the Brigadiers, or officers commanding brigades, for the punctual compliance with this order.

The Commander in Chief approves, the following sentences of a General Court Martial, held the 14th. instant, whereof Colonel Brodhead was president, and orders them to be put in execution immediately.

Lieut. Nathaniel Ferris of Col. Swift's regiment, charged with "Being drunk, and incapable of doing his duty, when the army engaged with the enemy on the 4th. instant," was found guilty and sentenced to be cashiered.

Lieut. Joseph Fish of Capt. Lee's company, in Colo. Durkee's regiment, charged with "Leaving the regiment and platoon, he belonged to, while on the march towards the enemy, on the night of the 3rd. instant, and also with being much disguised with liquor," was acquitted of the first charge, but found guilty of being much disguised with liquor, and sentenced therefore, to be reprimanded, by the Brigadier General, in the presence of the officers of the brigade.

The General again congratulates the troops on the success of our arms. On Wednesday last a body of about 1200 Hessians, under the command of Count Donop, made an attack on Fort Mercer at Red Bank, and after an action of 40 minutes were repulsed with great loss. Count Donop himself is wounded and taken prisoner, together with his Brigade Major, and about 100

other officers and soldiers, and about 100 were left dead on the field, and as they carried of a great many of their wounded, their whole loss is probably at least 400: Our loss was trifling, the killed and wounded amounting only to about 32.

The next morning a number of the enemy's ships came up, and attacked Fort Mifflin and the Gallies, and after a severe cannonade of several hours, the ships thought proper to retire, but in retiring a 64 Gun-ship and a frigate ran aground and were burnt.

AFTER ORDERS

The Court of enquiry, of which Genl. Greene is president, is to sit to morrow morning at nine o'clock at the president's quarters, to enquire into the conduct of Major General Stephen, on the march from the Clove to Schuylkill falls, in the action of the 11th. of September last on the Brandywine, and more especially in the action of the 4th. instant at and about Germantown, on which occasions he is charged with "Acting unlike an officer." Also into the charge against him for "Drunkenness, or drinking so much, as to act frequently in a manner, unworthy the character of an officer."

To THE CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD[49]

Head Quarters, October 25, 1777.

Gentlemen: The application of Commodore Hazelwood for seamen, and the necessity there is of his being supplied, if possible, induce me to submit it to the Consideration of your Board, Whether those in the Frigates near Burlington, cannot be more beneficially employed with him, than where they now are.

The importance of defending the Navigation below, or in other words of preventing the Enemy from becoming the

[49] The Continental Navy Board, then at Bordentown, N. J., consisted of Francis Hopkinson and John Wharton.

Masters of it, is obvious to all. If they cannot effect this, we may hope, that they will be obliged, either to evacuate the City, or to expose themselves to great hazard, if not ruin, by sending out frequent Detachments for procuring and Convoying provisions and other necessary supplies. Under these ideas, I think there should be every possible, prudent exertion to provide the Commodore with a suitable number of hands for manning his Vessels.

The Ground, I presume, for retaining the Sailors on board the Frigates, is their Security. This I fear, from their unfinished, unweildy state could not be provided for, in case the Enemy should attempt to take them. I am certain of it. Will it not be more advisable therefore, to try other means for their safety? I mean to Scuttle them, If they can be raised again. I am not a judge of such matters, but if it can be done, I should think the measure highly expedient. The Commodore might then be reinforced and the Frigates would be secure against any present efforts, which the Enemy can make to possess or destroy them. These are not the only good consequences that may be pointed out. I will mention one more of great weight. If the Frigates should be taken by the Enemy, of which there is great danger in my opinion, they will make them exceedingly formidable against our little navy. So much so, that in Conjunction with the Delaware and such other Vessels, as they may equip, there will be the strongest reason to apprehend their falling a Sacrifice. I have written to Commodore Hazelwood for his sentiments and those of the navy Officers upon the subject, and practicability weighing them, if they should be sunk, which I shall take the Liberty of laying before you by the earliest opportunity after they are obtained. I have the honor etc.[50]

[50] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Whitpain, October 26, 1777.

Parole Worcester. Countersigns Rutland, Salem.

The Court of enquiry of which General Greene was president, relative to the complaint against General Maxwell, report their opinion as follows—"The Court of enquiry having fully inquired into the complaints, exhibited by Lieut. Col. Heth,[51] against Brigadier General Maxwell, while commanding the light-corps, are clearly of opinion, that they are without foundation; saving that it appears, he was once during said time disguised with liquor in such a manner, as to disqualify him in some measure, but not fully, from doing his duty; and that once or twice besides his spirits were a little elevated by spiritous liquor. The Court submit to His Excellency's better judgment, whether Genl. Maxwell from these instances of deviation ought to be subjected to a trial by court martial."

The Commander in Chief directs that the General Court Martial of which Genl. Sullivan is president, as soon as the trial before them is finished, proceed to the trial of Brigadier General Maxwell, upon the complaints referred to in the foregoing report.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentences of a General Court martial, of which Col Brodhead was president, held the 17th, 18th and 19th. instant, and orders that they be put in execution forthwith—viz.

Lieut. Col. John Markham, of the 8th. Virginia regiment, charged with "Having left the regiment in time of action, on the 4th. instant, and also, on the retreat of the same day"; and also charged with "Delay when ordered to support the advanced guard," was, by the unanimous opinion of the court,

[51] Lieut. Col. William Heth, of the Third Virginia Regiment. He was promoted to colonel in April, 1778; taken prisoner at Charleston in May, 1780; prisoner on parole to end of the war.

found guilty of the charges exhibited against [him], and sentenced to be cashiered.

Capt. McCormick[52] of the 13th. Virginia regiment charged with "Laying down in time of action and behaving in a cowardly, unofficerlike manner," was acquitted with honor.

Lieut. Crain[53] of the 15th. Virginia regt. charged with "Disobedience of orders, also with breaking his arrest," acquitted by the unanimous opinion of the court.

Lieut. Thomas Moore of Capt. Harrison's[54] company in the 13th. Virginia regiment charged with "Encouraging the men to breed a mutiny, and otherwise behaving unbecoming the character of a Gentleman or officer," was acquitted.

Thomas Roach a matross in Capt. Serjeants[55] company of artillery in Col Crane's regt. of artillery charged with "Desertion, and attempting to go to the enemy." The Court are unanimously of opinion the prisoner is guilty of the charge against him, and do unanimously sentence him to suffer *death*. This sentence is to be executed to morrow at twelve o'clock, near the artillery park, *60* men with officers, from each brigade, are to attend the execution.

Capt. Thomas Patterson of Col. Dayton's regiment, is appointed Brigade Major (pro tempore) for Genl. Maxwell's brigade, and is to be obeyed as such.

AFTER ORDERS

The execution of Thomas Roach is respited for three days.

[52] Capt. George McCormick, of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment. He was retired in September, 1778.

[53] Lieut. James Crain, of the Fifteenth Virginia Regiment. He was captain of the Eleventh Virginia Regiment in October, 1780; transferred to the Fourth Virginia Regiment in February, 1781; served to close of the war.

[54] Capt. Benjamin Harrison. He was captain of the Thirteenth Virginia and Ninth Virginia Regiments in September, 1778; retired in February, 1781, with the rank of major.

[55] Capt. Winthrop Sargent, of the Third Continental Artillery. He was aide to Maj. Gen. Robert Howe in June, 1780; served to close of war.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Qurs., 15 Miles from Philada., October 26,[56] 1777.

Dear Sir: I have your favour of the 20th. inclosing a Copy of Genl. Burgoyne's Capitulation[57] which was the first authentic intelligence I received of the affair, indeed I began to grow uneasy and almost to suspect that the first accounts you transmitted me were premature. As I have not received a single line from Gen. Gates, I do not know what steps he is taking with the Army under his Command, and therefore cannot advise what is most proper to be done in your quarter. But I should think, if a junction of your force was formed, part to proceed down upon one side of the River and part upon the other, that Sr. Henry Clinton would be obliged to retreat immediately before you, or if he suffered you to get between him and New York, you perhaps might, in its weak state, get into it. I mention this merely as matter of opinion, taking it for granted you will pursue the most proper and efficacious measure. Whatever may be determined upon, I beg may be constantly communicated to me, as the operations of this Army may depend much upon the situation of yours.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that on the 22d. instant about 1200 Hessians under the Command of Count Donop attempted to take our Fort at Red Bank by storm, they were repulsed with the loss of about 400 killed and wounded, among the latter Count Donop himself, who is prisoner. They retreated in the greatest confusion and recrossed the Delaware as speedily as possible. On the 23d. in the morning several of the Enemy's Ships of War got thro' the lower Chevaux de frize and came up

[56] The Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress, the letter printed by Ford in *Correspondence of Samuel Blatchley Webb* (New York: 1893), and the text in Sparks's *Writings of Washington* are dated October 25.

[57] A copy of the Saratoga convention, in the writing of Charles Thomson, is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress. It was forwarded to Washington in Thomson's letter to him of October 31.

to Fort Mifflin, but they received so warm a fire from our Ships, Gallies and Battery that they were obliged to sheer off. One of their 64 Gun Ships got on Ground, she took fire, either from our Shot or from accident and blew up. Our Gallies destroyed a Frigate also. Since this, they have remained tolerably quiet. Mr. Hughes, in a letter to Genl. McDougall, says that Nixon's and Glover's Brigades are upon their March down, when they arrive, you can spare the small detachments belonging to the New England Regiments now here. I beg they may be sent down as soon as possible to join their respective Corps.[58] I am etc.

*CIRCULAR TO THE GENERAL OFFICERS

Head Quarters, October 26, 1777.

Sir: You will, very shortly, be called to a Council of War,[59] when your Sentiments on the following questions will be asked?

[1–2] Whether it will be prudent, in our present circumstances, and strength, to attempt by a general attack, to dislodge the Enemy; and if it is, and we unsuccessful, where we shall retreat to?

[3] If such an attack should not be thought eligible, what general disposition of the Army had best take place, till the Weather forces us from the Field?

[4] Where, and in what manner, supposing the Enemy to keep possession of Philadelphia, had the Continental Troops best be Cantoned after they can no longer keep the Field?

[5] What measures can be adopted to cover the Country near the City, and prevent the Enemy drawing Supplies therefrom, during the Winter?

[6] Will the Office of Inspector Genl. to our Army, for the purpose, principally, of establishing one uniform sett of

[58] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[59] The council of war was held on October 29. (See Washington's letter to the Council of War, Oct. 29, 1777, *post.*)

Manoeuvres and Manual, be adviseable as the time of the Adjutant Genl. seems to be totally engaged with other business?

[7] Should Regimental promotions extend only to Captns., Inclusively, or to that of the Majority?

[8] Will it be consistent with propriety and good policy to allow Soldiers the reward offered to others for apprehending Deserters?

[9] The Commissaries complaining of the number, and disproportion of the Ration's which are Issued to the Troops and at the sametime of the advanced price of all kinds of spirits, owing to the Imposition of the Sutlers upon the Soldiery what regulation, or remedy can be applied to rectify the one, and prevent the other? I am, etc.[60]

---

[60] When the council of war was convened (October 29) the questions here propounded and other matters were considered. To avoid repetition, on that date the answers of the council to the above queries are here given:

1. "It will not."
2. "Precluded by the above answer."
3. "The army should take post on the ground a little to our left, which has been reconnoitred and reported by the Engineers; and sufficient reenforcements should be sent to the Garrisons at Red-bank and Fort Mifflin to complete the number of men requisite for their defence."
4. "Deferred."
5. "Deferred."
6. "Such an officer is adviseable. The manual manœuvres, or any regulations to be established, previously to be settled or agreed to by the Commander in chief or a board of officers, appointed by him for that purpose."
7. "Promotions should be regimental as high as Captains inclusively. All from that rank in the line of the state."
8. "The reward should be allowed to soldiers."
9. "Deferred." In a rough, undated draft of the proceedings of a council of general officers, filed at the end of October, 1777, and so recorded in the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress, this ninth question is answered: "The Commissaries should be directed to take all the Liquors in the hands of the Sutlers at a reasonable price, if they can agree, and if they cannot, the Sutlers are to carry them away. No Sutler should be allowed to continue in the Army longer than the 5th day of November."

This council also advised an exchange of prisoners, under several alternatives, and decided that no captain or subaltern was entitled to a horse, excepting captains of artillery in command of two field pieces, and captains in command of regiments which have no field officers.

(See Washington's letter to the council of war, Oct. 29, 1777, *post.*)

Sets of these queries, both signed by Washington, are in the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. One, in the writing of Caleb Gibbs, is addressed to Knox; the other, in the writing of Hamilton, is addressed to Wayne.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Camp White Marsh, 15 Miles from Philadelphia,
October 26, 1777.

Sir: I was honored a few days ago with your favor of the 14th Inst. for which and its inclosure, I return you my thanks.

I am happy in Congratulating you, in turn, on the further Success of our Arms at the Northward, in the Surrender of General Burgoyne, the particulars of this fortunate event will have reached you, I expect, before this, and therefore shall not add more upon the Subject.

I have also the pleasure to inform you, * * *.[61] Our loss at Red Bank did not exceed 32 in killed and wounded and not above four in the Action with the Ships of War. I have the honor etc.[62]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL [ROBERT?] RALSTON[63]

Head Quarters, October 26, 1777.

Sir: You will proceed with the Detachment under your command, with all expedition to Red Bank, where you will receive further orders from Colo. Greene commanding officer at that Post, to which you will punctually conform. The Route I would recommend to you is from this to Bristol, thence across the Delaware to Mount Holly, thence to Haddonfield and thence to Red Bank. You will use every necessary precaution on your march, to prevent any accident happening to your Detachment

[61] The omitted portion is almost a verbatim repetition of Washington's description of the repulse at Red Bank and defeat of the British ships, as contained in his letter to Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam, Oct. 26, 1777, *q. v.*

[62] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[63] In the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress Ralston is said to be of the Pennsylvania Militia, but his name is not found in the published lists in the *Pennsylvania Archives.* He was, possibly, Robert Ralston, who had been adjutant of the First Pennsylvania Brigade.

by surprise, and as it is possible the Enemy may gain intelligence of it, and make some attempt to intercept it. I am etc.[64]

To COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

Head Quarters, October 26, 1777.

Sir: I have sent down Lt. Colo. Rolston with three hundred Pennsylvania militia to reinforce Forts Mercer and Mifflin. I therefore desire that you and Baron Arendt will settle the proportion that each is to have, upon the most equitable terms. If you should have been joined by such a number of Jersey militia as will render your post quite secure, you are to permit all the Pennsylvania militia to pass over to fort Mifflin. I am &ca.[65]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Head Quarters, October 27, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am glad to find, by yours of the 26th. that you had arrived at Red Bank, and I hope, from your exertions in that quarter, that the Militia will be induced to come out. I take the Body of Men, that have been seen crossing Schuylkill, to be a covering party to the Waggons going down for a Convoy Stores and provisions, [provided they did not cross to Billingsport] as they have a road leading over Province and Tinicum Islands to the Mouth of Derby Creek, at which place they debark their provisions &ca. The possession of Red Bank is a thing of so much importance to the Enemy, that I am confident they will leave nothing untried to make themselves masters of it. I have ordered a considerable reinforcement from hence, who are only waiting for the Weather to clear up. In the mean time, I beg you will assemble every Man you can,

[64] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.
[65] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

and after throwing as many into the fort as will be sufficient for the Works, post the others in some convenient place to fall upon the Enemy in the Rear should they set down to invest it. Be pleased to keep me constantly advised of any movements of the Enemy. I am etc.[66]

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Head Quarters, October 27, 1777.

Sir: I am very apprehensive that the Enemy are preparing Armed Boats, floating Batteries and fire Rafts at Philadelphia with an intent to fall down upon your fleet when they are finished. The Delaware Frigate will be of the greatest advantage to them in covering, their smaller Vessels, should they attack you. In my opinion there is much greater danger from an attack of this kind, than one directly in your front, because there you have the Chevaux de frize as a defence. I therefore would suggest the expediency of making an attempt to destroy the Frigate and what other preparations they are making, by surprise. I will not pretend to point out the mode to you, who must be much better acquainted with things of this kind than I can possibly be; but if you think it can be done, no means should be left untried to effect it. I am &ca.

P. S. Could not the Frigate be fired, as she lays at Anchor, in a dark Night.[67]

*To THE CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD

15th Mile Stone on the Skippack Road,
October 27, 1777.

Gentn: The more I reflect upon the evil that may arise from the Enemy's possessing themselves of our unfinished Frigates

[66] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The phrase in brackets was added by Washington.

[67] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

up the Delaware, the more convinced I am of the indispensable obligation we are under to prevent it, effectually. If no other method could be devised, I should be for absolutely burning them; but scuttling and sinking [them] with, or without Ballast, as those who are best acquainted with the difficulties of raising them in either State, at this Season [may determine] will, in my judgment answer the end.

You [We all] know that the Enemy have made one vigorous (tho unsuccessful) effort to dispossess us of our Forts, and drive off our Vessels, which defend the Cheveaux de frieze in the River; you [we] know also, that besides [burning] the Delaware Frigate, they are busily employed in preparing two other large Armd Vessels at the City. Now [If] in addition to these [they] should they by Surprize, or force, obtain the Frigates above Bordentown, and bring the whole in aid of their Ships in a general attack upon our little Fleet (thus surrounded) one [we] may, [but too easily] without the Spirit of divination foretell the consequences. [Their destruction will be certain and inevitable.]

At present, these Ships [Frigates] are of no use to us, whilst the hands are greatly wanted; considered therefore in this point of view, simply, the measure [proposed] in my judgement [opinion] is highly expedient; but [and] under the prevailing Sentiment that the Enemy cannot hold Phila., unless their Shipping is got up, it becomes [appears] absolutely necessary.

The fatal consequences which may result from suffering these Frigates to fall into the Enemys hands is, [are] too obvious to need [more] arguments to prove, [them,] and when it is considered of how little importance they are to us in their present Situation, common prudence requires that they should be so disposed of as to be hereafter useful; and out of the way

of being destroyed by the Enemy if they can be no otherwise useful [or being rendered Serviceable] to them.

Upon the whole then, I take the liberty of delivering it to you as my clear opinion, that the Frigates ought to be immediately, and with the utmost secrecy, Sunk, either with, or without Ballast (so as to make it next to impossible to raise them without Mens diving, either to unlade, or fix their purchases) and [that] the[ir] Crews [should be] sent down to the Fleet below, where Sailors are exceedingly wanted.

If I have stepped out of the line of my duty to make this request, I am perswaded you will excuse it when I add, that the good of the Service not only in my judgment, but [in] that of others, absolutely requires it [to be carried into execution].[68] I have the honor etc.

To THE CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD

Head Quarters, October 27, 1777.

Gentlemen: I this morning received your favour of the 26th. I refer you to a letter which I wrote you a few hours ago, urging the necessity of Scutling the Frigates immediately. I then imagined that there were a considerable number of Seamen on Board of them; but since I have seen the Returns, I think the necessity more pressing. The people on board could not defend them against a couple of armed Boats. An intelligent lad from Philadelphia says they have been bringing Seamen and flat Boats from the Fleet below, and it is more than probable that they may have their Eye upon the Frigates above, I therefore would advise you to sink, not only them, immediately upon the

[68] The bracketed portions show the words inserted by Robert Hanson Harrison, who thus endeavored to improve Washington's diction, striking out such of Washington's words as interfered with Harrison's concepts of phraseology.

receipt of this, but every other Vessel, capable of being converted into an armed Vessel.[69] The smaller Craft and flat Boats, that are not wanted to transport troops occasionally, to be carried as high up the Creeks and River as possible. The soldiers that were on board the Frigates to be sent under the care of an officer to join their Regiments and the few Seamen down to our Fleet. If those Watermen that you mention, who are on board private Vessels, could be prevailed upon by any means to serve in our fleet till the Frost, it would answer a very valuable purpose, and rather than miss of them I would offer handsome terms, [but not so much as to occasion jealousy and uneasiness in those already in Service.] I have the honor to be etc.[70]

To DANIEL CLYMER[71]

Head Quarters, October 27, 1777.

Sir: Your favor of yesterday I received in the Afternoon and was much obliged by the Contents. The 27-24 pounders[72] are an important acquisition, and may be made extremely useful. If the Field pieces were thrown into Trenton Creek, I should suppose, they may be found by care and pains. They will be

[69] The Marine Committee of Congress reported to that body that having considered General Washington's order to scuttle the frigates in the Delaware to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy "are of opinion that the frigates should be lightened as much as possible, and either run into some adjacent creek or hauled as high upon shore as may be without ballast, and a battery constructed with the guns of the *Washington* on the most convenient ground to cover the frigates from the enemy; that the frigates should be charged properly with combustibles, and a careful watch employed under a vigilant officer to burn them rather than let them fall into the hands of the enemy; and lest this should fail, that a sufficient number of small craft should be sunk in the channel below the frigates, effectually to obstruct the enemy from moving them down the river, if they should happen to gain possession of them; and a battery be constructed in the most convenient manner to cover the obstructions and prevent the enemy from removing them; that all the vessels of whatever kind should be run up as high above the batteries aforesaid as possible, and the most effectual precautions taken immediately on the approach of the enemy." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress,* Nov. 4, 1777.) General Washington, if he approved this plan, was to furnish a detachment of troops to aid in the construction and management of the batteries.

[70] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The phrase in brackets is in Washington's writing.

[71] Deputy Commissary General, then at Burlington, N. J.

[72] From the wreck of the *Augusta.*

of great value if they can be got, and are worth a diligent search. From the Accounts, I have had, the Enemy certainly left some behind in their retreat. I am, etc.[73] [H.S.P.]

*To SAMUEL WASHINGTON

Phila. County, October 27, 1777.

Dear Brother: Your Letter by my Nephew Thornton, begun on the 20th. of last Mo. and ended the 22d. came safe to my hands. I am very glad Colo. Lewis purchased a Lott or two for me at the Warm Springs, as it was always my Intention to become a Proprietor there if a Town should be laid off at that place. Two Lotts is not more than I wish'd to possess, but if he is altogether disappointed, and cannot be otherwise supplied, I will, under those circumstances, part with one of mine, of this you will inform him; and I shall not only depend upon, but thank, and pay you chearfully, for the Improvements which are necessarily erected for the saving of the Lotts. As I do not know that Sort of Buildings the Act of Assembly requires to save the Lotts, I can give no directions about them; but, if I hold both Lotts which I had rather do I would reserve the best spott for a tolerable convenient dwelling House to be built hereafter. and, if a House which may (hereafter) serve for a Kitchen, together with a Stable, would be sufficient to save the Lotts, they might be so placed as to appear uniform and clever, when the whole are finished, and in that case, content myself with building for the present, no more than the Kitchen and Stable.

I shall take an oppertunity of speaking to Genl. Woodford (who is just returnd to Camp) on that part of your Letter which relates to Thornton; and if any thing can be done for him here, without going out of the common line (which I

[73] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

know you would not wish me to do, and there by incur censure) I shall chearfully do it.

To recite at this time, the circumstances of the Ingagement of Brandywine, which have been bandied about in all the Newspapers would be totally unnecessary, almost equally so, would it be, to say any thing at this time, of the subsequent Ingagement on the 4th. Instt. wch. had every appearance (after a contest of two hours and 40 Minutes) of deciding in our favour, till something, to this moment unaccounted for, determined it otherwise. The glorious, and fortunate surrender of Genel. Burgoynes whole Army you have doubtless heard of, as an additional piece of good News I can inform you that on the 22d. Instt. a body of 1200 Hessians undertook to storm one of the Forts (called Mercer at red bank) erected for the defence of the Cheveaux de frieze in the Delaware, in which attempt they were repulsed, and retreated precipitably, after leaving upwards of 200 Men dead, and badly wounded on the spot, together with Count Donop their chief and several other valuable Officers; their total loss in killed and wounded, on this occasion does, by the best accts. we can get, amount to between four and five hundred Men. the next Morning, the Enemys Ships that has passed the lower Cheveaux de frieze, together with their Batteries on the Pensylvania side (Fort Mercer being on the Jersey shore) began a most furious Canonade on Fort Mifflen which is placed on a small Island in the River nearly opposite to Fort Mercer, and on our little Fleet wch. was posted for the defence of the Cheveaux de frieze, and after an incessant and most tremendous fire of Six hours retreated with the loss of a 64 Gun Ship and a frigate both of which were burnt. Our loss on both these occasions was trifling; at Fort Mercer in killed and wounded between 30 and 40 Men; at Fort Mifflin and on board the Galleis much less, since then the Enemy have been pretty quiet; but using every means to make themselves Masters of the River.

The Situation of the two Armies is shortly this: The Enemy are in Phila., and we hovering round them, to distress and retard their operations as much as possible; a Letter is too uncertain a conveyance for me to say any thing further of the governing principles of our own. Genl. Sir Henry Clinton's expedition up the North River will, if it has not already done so, end (if not in Smoke) in the burning and destroying of Mills, Gentlemens Seats, and the Villages adjacent to the River; strong evidence of their diabolical designs, and despair.

Remember me kindly to Mr. Warner Washington and Family, and to other enquiring friends; and be assured that I am with every sentiment of Brotherly love, Yr. etc.

PS. I Inclose you a list of the Prisoners, and artillery taken in the Northern Department this Campaign; where at least 12,000 Militia had assembled in aid of the Continental Troops, and stopd the only Road by which Burgoyne could retreat, whilst this Government which alone could afford that Number, with difficulty could get out any, and left me to struggle on as well as I could with Continental Troops for before a Second set of Militia could be got, the first were always gone by which means we could never collect a respectable body at once. Yrs. etc.

[H.S.P.]

To LANDON CARTER

Philadelphia County, October 27, 1777.

Dear Sir: Accept my sincere thanks for your sollicitude on my Acct. and for the good advice contained in your little paper of the 27th Ulto. at the same time that I assure you, that It is not my wish to avoid any danger which duty requires me to encounter. I can as confidently add, that it is not my intention to run unnecessary risques. In the Instance given by you, I was acting precisely in the line of my duty, but not in the dangerous situation you have been led to believe. I was reconnoitring, but

I had a strong party of Horse with me. I was, (as I afterwards found) in a disaffected House at the head of Elk, but I was equally guarded agt. friend and Foe. the information of danger there, came not from me.

So many accts. have been published of the battle of brandy wine, that nothing more can be said of it. the subsequent Ingagement on the 4th Instt. had every appearance (after a hot contest of two hours and forty minutes) of a glorious decision; but after driving the Enemy from their Incampment, possessing their ground, and being, as we thought, upon the point of grasping victory, it was snatched from us by means altogether unaccountable, excepting that a very heavy atmosphere, aided by the smoke from Field pieces and Small arms rendered it impossible, at times, to distinguish friend from Foe at the distance of 30 yards, which caused our Men, I believe, to take fright at each other. Since that the Enemy have retired to Phila., where they have been strengthening themselves as much as possible, whilst we hover round to cut of their Supplies.

The Enemy are exerting their utmost skill, to reduce the Forts constructed for the defence of the Cheveaux de friese in Delaware, and to drive of our little Fleet, employed in aid of them. On the 22d Inst. Count Donop, a Hessian Officer of Rank, and great Military Abilities, with 1200 of his Countrymen undertook to storm one of these Works (called Fort Mercer at Red bank on the Jersey shore) when himself and about 400 others were killed and wounded, between two and three hundred were left slain, and badly wounded on the spot, the rest got of with their retreating brethren, who made the best of their way to Phila. the Count is among the Wounded, supposed Mortally.

The next day, several of the Enemy's Ships, having passed the lower Cheveaux de friese, aided by their Land Batteries, began a most tremendous cannonade upon Fort Mifflin (on an

Island near the Pennsylvania shore) and on our Armed vessels adjoining, which continued Six hours without Intermission; and ended in the destruction of two of the Enemy's Ships of War, one, a Sixty four gun Ship, the other 18. Our damage on both these occasions was inconsiderable, in the Attack on Fort Mercer we had abt. 30 Men killed and wounded, at Fort Mifflin, and the Ships, less. The possession of these defences is of such essential Importance to the Enemy that they are leaving no stone unturned to succeed; we are doing what we can (under many disadvantages) to disappoint them. * * *[74]

My Inclination leads me to give you a more minute detail of the Situation of our Army, but prudence forbids, as Letters are subject to too many Miscarriages. My best respects attends the good family at Sabine Hall, Neighbours at Mount Airy, &c, & with Affecte. regard I remain, Dr. Sir.

P. S. I am persuaded you will excuse this scratch'd scrawl, when I assure you it is with difficulty I write at all.

I have this Instant received an acct. of the Prisoners taken by the Northern Army (Including Tories in arms agt. us) in the course of the Campaign. this singular Instance of Providence, and our good fortune under it exhibits a striking proof of the advantages which result from unanimity and a spirited conduct in the Militia. the Northern army, before the surrender, of Genl. Gates was reenforced by upwards of 12000 Militia who shut the only door by which Burgoyne could Retreat, and cut of all his supplies. How different our case! the disaffection of great part of the Inhabitants of this State, the languor of others and internal distraction of the whole, have been among the great and insuperable difficulties I have met with, and have contributed not a little to my embarrassment this Campaign; but enough! I do not mean to complain, I flatter myself that

[74]The omitted portion is practically the same as Washington's description of Clinton's failure as contained in his letter to Samuel Washington, Oct. 27, 1777, *q. v.*

a Superintending Providence is ordering every thing for the best and that, in due time, all will end well. that it may do so, and soon, is the most fervent wish of &c.

PRISONERS.

British	2442	
Foreigners	2198	
Canadians	1100	
		5740
Genl. Burgoyne and Staff among which are 6 Members of Parliament	12	
Sick and Wounded	598	
Prisoners of War before Surrender	400	
		1010
Killed and taken at Bennington	1220	
Ditto between the 17th Sept. and the 18th October	600	
		1820
Taken at Tyconderoga		413
Killed in Genl. Herkimers Action		300
Deserters		300
		9583

Indians, Drivers, Sutlers &c. Excepted.

ORDNANCE.

	No.	Wt.
At Bennington	2	12 Pounders
	2	6
	2	3
At Fort Schuyler	2	6 and 4 Royals
At the Battle of the 7th	2	12
	6	6
At the Capitulation	2	24
	2	12
	12	6
	9	3
Howitzers	2	8 Inch
Mortars	2	10 "
	45	encluding 4 Royals 49

400 Sett of Harness a Number of Ammunition Waggons Compleat.

Light Dragoons	258	38th Do	270
Roy: Artillery	434	40th Do	289
First Battn. Marines	315	44th Do	284
Second Do	304	45th Do	301
Grenadiers	698	47th Do	332
Lt. Infantry	650	49th Do	308
4th Regiment	295	52d Do	291
5th Do	284	55th Do	204
10th Do	279	63d Do	287
17th Do	313	64th Do	396
22d Do	297	65th Do	140
23d Do	283		
35th Do	297		7809

The General and Regimental Hospital not Including in the Above Return amounting to between 5 and 600 Men. Nor according to the said Acct. are the Staff Officers or Women.[75]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, October 28, 1777.

Sir: You are [immediately, or] as soon as the weather will permit, to proceed to Woodberry with the Brigade under your command. Your most convenient Route will be from this to Bristol, thence to Mount Holly [across the Delaware,] thence to Haddonfield and thence to the place of your destination. You will be circumspect on your march [and use every precaution] to prevent [your party] being surprised or intercepted. The design of [sending you to Woodberry] your expedition is to aid and give greater security to the Garrisons at Red-bank and Fort Mifflin; for which purpose you will [punctually]

[75] The text is from Ford, who obtained it from Dr. John S. H. Fogg, of Boston.

cooperate with them. [in every necessary measure. You will probably find] Genl. Forman will be in the neighbourhood of Red-bank, at the head of a body of Jersey Militia; as he is there for the same end, that you [will] are to be, a cooperation between you and him will be also requisite.

I cannot delineate particularly the line of conduct you are to observe. I leave it to your own discretion, to be adapted to circumstances. The[se] general idea[s], I would however throw out; [is,] That you are in conjunction with the Jersey Militia, to give the garrisons [and fleet] all the assistance and relief in your power. That as the men in them must be greatly harrassed by labor and watching, and in need of rest and refreshment, [I would have] you are to send detachments from time to time to relieve and replace an equal number from the garrisons, who are during the interval to remain and act with you. That you are [also] occasionally to reinforce them with additional numbers, as they may stand in need of it. That, in case of an attack upon, or investiture of Red-bank, you are to act upon the rear or flanks of the enemy; not to throw your troops into the Fort, except such reinforcements from them as may really be wanted in defence of the works.

Woodberry I have pitched upon as a general Station, from its nearness to the forts, and the greater facility there will be, on that account, to answer in common, the ends proposed. [In case of the] On any approach of the enemy towards you, you are to take such a Situation as shall seem to you most eligible.

I hope it is unnecessary to caution you to be, in every circumstance, upon your guard against surprises. At Woodberry you will be between two creeks, if you can draw any security from this, by breaking down bridges, or otherwise, so as to render the march of the enemy in [their] approaching you, more

circuitous, [or to lessen the number of approaches,] it will be an advantage worth improving. I am etc.

P.S. In case you should find it necessary to send a reinforcemt. of Artillery-men into Red-bank; you are not to send Capt. Lee[76] with them, because Capt. Du Plessis services merit, and, it is my wish, he should not be superceeded in the command of the Artillery there; which would happen, should Capt. Lee go into the Garrison being an older officer.[77] [R.I.H.S.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Head Quarters, October 28, 1777.

Dear Sir: I wrote you last evening with respect to reinforcing Red Bank and Fort Mifflin. My anxiety, from the importance of these places, is so great, that I cannot help urging you again to throw in without loss of time, what Assistance the Commanding Officers and yourself may think necessary, and such as you may be able to afford them. I informed you, that the reinforcement ordered from hence was detained by the weather, a continuance of which, still prevents the march of it, and may retard their passage when they set off, for which reason, I wish your immediate consultation with the Officers, that you may know what reinforcements are necessary and supply them, if possible, without loss of time. I am etc.

P. S. If you mention the coming down of a reinforcement, it may reach the Enemy's Ears, and they endeavour to intercept it, for which reason I wish it may be kept as secret as can be.[78]

[76] Capt. James Lee, of the Second Continental Artillery. He resigned in December, 1779.

[77] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton; the draft, in the *Washington Papers*, is also in that of Hamilton. The bracketed portions are in the draft and do not appear in the letter sent.

[78] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN GREEN

Head Quarters, October 28, 1777.

Sir: Colonel Arendt writes me, that the state of his health will make it absolutely necessary for him, to withdraw himself awhile from the garrison. I am apprehensive, that, during his absence, there may arise some difficulty about the command between you and Lt. Colo. Smith, as it is uncertain which of your commissions is oldest, and cannot now be easily determined. The good of the service however requires, that disputes of such a nature should be waved, and as Lt. Colo. Smith had originally the command of the post, has been longer in it, and may be supposed to have more thoroughly considered every circumstance of its defence, than one who has been less time there, these are arguments with me, in the present uncertainty, respecting rank, that it should be waved in his favour. I have no doubt that they will have their full weight with you when duly considered, and that you will readily avoid any difference about punctilios, when the advancement of the service, in the least degree, may seem to require it. Relying upon this, I flatter myself you will chearfully acquiesce in Colo. Smith's command, in the absence of the Baron, and that there will be the most perfect harmony subsisting between you. I am etc.[79]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, October 28, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 26th. As there seems to be a doubt of the priority of the date of your or Lt. Colonel Green's Commissions, I have in a letter of this date, desired him

[79] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

to wave the matter in dispute for the present, and act under your command, as you have been in the Fort from the beginning and must be better acquainted with the nature of the defences than a Stranger.

I have ordered a very handsome detachment for the reinforcement of Forts Mifflin and Mercer, and the Gallies, they have been ready since yesterday, but the weather has been such, that they could not march. When they arrive, the duty will not be so severe, and if the men that you carried down at first can possibly be spared they shall be relieved. I will send them down necessaries out of the first that arrive from Lancaster. You seem to have mistaken the Commodore's meaning. From his letter I understand that he will always assist you, whenever it is in his power. He tells you, that in rough Weather his Gallies and Armed Boats cannot live and therefore guards you against expecting much assistance from them at such times. I beg you, of all things, not to Suffer any Jealousies between the land and Sea Service to take place. Consider that your mutual security depends upon acting perfectly in concert. I have wrote to Colo. Green to afford you every possible assistance from Red Bank till the reinforcement gets down. I have the greatest hopes that this storm of Rain and Wind at N. E., will overflow all the Enemy's works upon Province Island and ruin the new Roads they have been making. I recommend every attention to you and I hope a glorious success will reward your exertions. I am &ca.

P. S. Keep the Banks of Province Island constantly cut and you will embarrass the Enemy excessively. Do not mention any thing of the expectation of a reinforcement lest the Enemy take means to intercept them.[80]

[80] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Head Quarters, October 28, 1777.

Sir: In consequence of your representation of the Weakness of your Fleet, I have ordered a return of Sailors in the Army to be made to me, and find they amount to more than 100, which will march with a Detachment for the Forts, as soon as the weather will permit. This reinforcement, I expect, will amply supply your wants, and enable you to give every assistance to the Forts that can be reasonably expected from you, and as their strength will be greatly augmented, it is my most earnest desire, that every mode may be adopted, by which your force may be brought to Cooperate against the designs and approaches of the Enemy, and that a mutual confidence and perfect understanding may chearfully take place.

The Ammunition which you have and will receive, is to be considered as sent for the use of the whole, and distributed accordingly.

As there is a greater possibility, that the reduction of the Forts might be effected by surprise, than any other means, you will see the necessity of giving them every aid by your Gondolas and guard Boats, as may effectually prevent any mischance of this kind. I am &ca.[81]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, Whitpain Township, October 28, 1777.

Parole Middleton. Countersigns Newbury, Oxford.

The Honorable Congress have been pleased to promote Brigadiers General Robert Howe, and Alexander McDougall, to the rank of Majors General in the service of the United States.

[81] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

The ranks of the Captains and Subalterns in Colonel Malcom's regiment are to be established, as settled the 19th instant by Cols. Ogden and Spencer, and Lieut. Col. Brearly.

Capt. McGowen[82] is appointed to do the duty of Brigade Major, in the brigade late De Haas's, and is to be respected as such.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Whitpain Township, October 29, 1777.

Parole Norfolk. Countersigns Norwich, Norton.

The seamen returned in General Muhlenberg's, Weedon's, Woodford's, Scotts, 2nd Maryland and McDougall's brigades, are to have by them, three day's provisions ready cooked, and hold themselves ready to march at the shortest notice.

AFTER ORDERS

The ammunition of each brigade is to be inspected without the least delay, and reports of the state of it made immediately.

COUNCIL OF WAR

Head Quarters at Whitpain, October 29, 1777.

His Excellency informed the Board, That the enemy's whole force, according to the best estimate he could form, founded on general returns of their army, which had accidentally fallen into his hands bearing every mark of authenticity, and from probable calculations of such changes as may have happened since the date of them, amounted to about 10,000 rank and file, present fit for duty. That their main body by the last accounts were in and near Philadelphia. That they had established several batteries on Province Island, opposite to Fort Mifflin, from

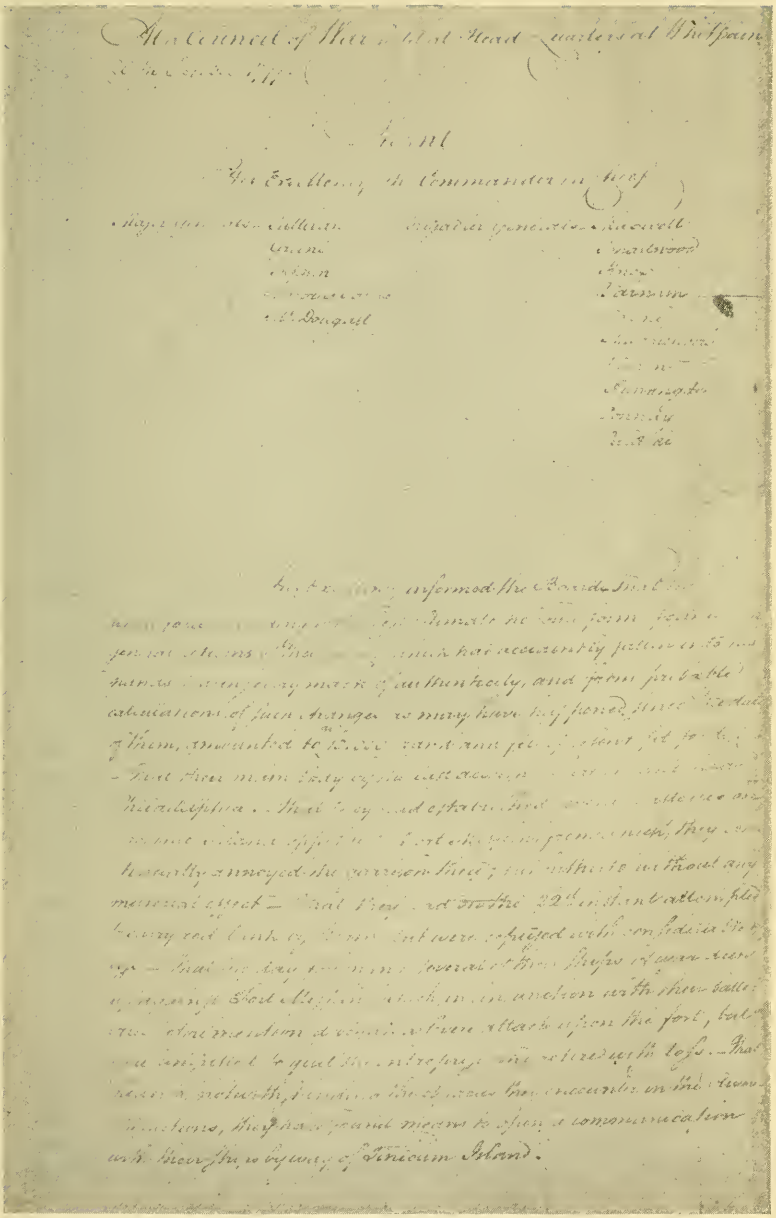
[82] Capt. John McGowan, of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. He was wounded at Germantown, Pa.; was transferred to the Invalid Regiment in February, 1781; served to end of the war.

which, they continually annoyed the garrison there; but hitherto without any material effect. That they had on the 22d. instant attempted to carry red bank by storm; but were repulsed with considerable loss. That the day following several of their ships of war drew up against Fort Mifflin; which, in conjunction with their batteries before mentioned began a severe attack upon the fort; but were compelled to quit the enterprise and retire with loss. That however, notwithstanding the obstacles they encounter in the River obstructions, they have found means to open a communication with their ships by way of Tinicum Island.

He further informed them, That our whole force at this time amounted by the last returns to 8313 Continental troops and 2717 Militia, rank and file, present fit for duty. That besides these, were the garrisons at Fort Island and Redbank; the former consisting of about 300 Continental troops, the latter 350; in addition to which a detachment of three hundred militia marched the 26th. to reinforce the two posts, also the troops on the other side the Schuylkill in number about 500 Militia, under Brigadier General Potter.

That this force was likely soon to suffer a diminution of 1986 Militia, by the expiration of the terms of service for which those from Virginia and Maryland engaged.

That on the other hand, He had called upon the State of Pensylvania in the strongest terms, to afford all the assistance and reinforcement in its power to this army; and that he had also written to Generals Dickinson, Foreman and Newcomb, pressing them in the most earnest manner, to endeavour to collect all the militia of the State of New Jersey, that can possibly be spared from other objects, in the neighbourhood of Red bank, as an additional aid and security to that post; but was uncertain what degree of success these different applications might have.



Proceedings of a Council of War at Whitpain, October 29, 1777

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
LIBRARY

He finally informed them, that by advice from the Northward, it appeared that General Burgoyne and his whole Army had capitulated to General Gates, on condition of being permitted to return to Great Britain, and not bearing Arms again in North America during the present contest. That by a letter of the 25th. instant from General Dickinson, there was reason to believe, Sir Harry Clinton and the forces with him had returned down the North River; and that the troops heretofore stationed at Rhode Island were arrived at New York. That he was not able to afford any precise information of the disposition made by Generals Gates and Putnam, in consequence of the forementioned events; but had heard that General Gates had detached two Brigades to join Governor Clinton at Esopus.

Observing, that under these circumstances, he had called a Council to consult and resolve upon the measures best to be pursued; He accordingly requested the sentiments of the Gentlemen present, on the following subjects.

* * * * *[83]

Q: Can any, and what succours may with propriety be drawn from the Northern Armies at this time?[84]

The deliberations on the foregoing subjects finished. The Commander in Chief proceeded to the following Questions.

* * * * *[85]

Q: Colo. Frazer, in a letter of the 9th. instant, having represented that he had "Liberty to mention it as Genl. Howe's earnest desire, that a general exchange of prisoners should take place on equitable terms, or that the officers prisoners of war on both sides should be released and have liberty to go to any

[83] The four queries here omitted are identical with the first four in Washington's Circular to the General Officers, Oct. 26, 1777, *q. v.*

[84] "Succours should be drawn from the Northern armies to consist of twenty regiments, fifteen of Massachusetts, three of New Hampshire and Lee's and Jackson's regiments."

[85] The four queries here omitted are the same as the last four in Washington's Circular to the General Officers, Oct. 26, 1777, *q. v.*

place in possession of their friends on their paroles." What measures might it be proper for us to take[86] in consequence of that information?[87]

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, October 30, 1777.

Sir: I am this day honored with your Letter of the 26th Inst., previous to which I had given some orders respecting the Subject of it, upon a Complaint made to me by one of the Commissaries, of the enormous price to which Liquors had been raised in the country, occasioned principally by the Suttlers who resort our Camp.

I shall now have this matter more fully enquired into, and adopt such measures, as I shall judge most expedient, for the immediate Suppression of this Evil, which, when determined on shall be communicated to you.[88] I have the honor etc.[89]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Qurs., Philada. County, October 30, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am informed by Genl. Dickinson, that he has intelligence, which he thinks may be depended upon, that Sr. Henry Clinton, with all the troops under his command, has returned down the River. If this is so, and the Brigades of Nixon

[86] "Deferred."

[87] The proceedings of this council of war are in the writing of Alexander Hamilton and were signed by Jno. Sullivan, Nath. Greene, Adam Stephen, Marquis de Lafayette, Alex. McDougall, W. Smallwood, H. Knox, J. M. Varnum, Anty. Wayne, P: Muhlenberg, G. Weedon, Jed. Huntington, and T. Conway.

[88] By a council of general officers, the proceedings of which are undated, filed at the end of October, 1777, the commissaries were directed to take all liquors from the sutlers at a reasonable price and no sutler was to be allowed to remain with the army later than November 5. The proceedings of the council are in the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

[89] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

and Glover should have joined you from the Northward, I desire they may be immediately put under march to reinforce this Army. Colo. Hamilton, who will deliver or send you this, will inform you of the necessity there is for it, and how many good consequences will result from dispatch. In my last, I desired that the Detachments belonging to Varnum's and Huntingtons Brigades might be sent forward; if they have not marched before this reaches you, order those belonging to Varnum, which now consists of Green's, Angells, Chandlers and Durkees, not to cross the Delaware, but to proceed by the shortest Route to Red Bank upon the Jersey shore, where the Brigade is stationed. I refer you to Colo. Hamilton for all particulars relating to the situation of this Army and that of the Enemy and am, Dear Sir etc.[90]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters near White Marsh,
15 Miles from Philadelphia, October 30, 1777.

Sir: By this Opportunity, I do myself the pleasure to congratulate you on the signal success of the Army under your command, in compelling Genl. Burgoyne and his whole force, to surrender themselves prisoners of War. An Event that does the highest honor to the American Arms, and which, I hope, will be attended with the most extensive and happy consequences. At the same time, I cannot but regret, that a matter of such magnitude and so interesting to our General Operations, should have reached me by report only, or thro' the Channel of Letters, not bearing that authenticity, which the importance of it required, and which it would have received by a line under your signature, stating the simple fact.

[90] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Our affairs having happily terminated at the Northward, I have, by the advice of my Genl. Officers, sent Colo. Hamilton, one of my aids, to lay before you a full state of our Situation and that of the Enemy in this Quarter. He is well informed upon the subject, and will deliver my Sentiments upon the plan of operations that is now necessary to be pursued. I think it improper to enter into a particular detail, not being well advised how matters are circumstanced on the North River, and fearing that by some accident my Letter might miscarry. From Colo. Hamilton you will have a clear and comprehensive view of things, and I persuade myself, you will do all in your power, to facilitate the objects I have in contemplation.[91] I am etc.[92]

[N.Y.H.S.]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Head Qurs., Philada. County, October 30, 1777.

Dear Sir: It having been judged expedient by the members of a Council of War held Yesterday, that one of the Gentlemen of my family should be sent to Genl. Gates, in order to lay before him the State of this Army and the Situation of the Enemy, and to point out to him the many happy consequences that will accrue from an immediate reinforcement being sent from the Northern Army; I have thought proper to appoint you to that duty, and desire that you will immediately set out for Albany, at which place, or in the neighbourhood, I imagine, you will find General Gates.

[91] On November 2 Gates wrote to Washington that Morgan's regiment had marched from Saratoga, October 18, and "will soon be in the Neighbourhood of your Excellency's Camp. Congress having been requested immediately to transmit Copies of all my Dispatches to them, I am Confident Your Excellency has long ago received all the Good News from this Quarter." The last letter from Gates to Congress, requesting the forwarding of any information, is dated October 4. Hamilton, on his way to Gates, met Morgan's corps at Fishkill November 2.

[92] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

You are so fully acquainted with the two principal points on which you are sent, namely the "State of our Army and the Situation of the Enemy" that I shall not enlarge on those heads. What you are chiefly to attend to, is to point out, in the clearest and fullest manner, to Genl. Gates, the absolute necessity that there is for his detaching a very considerable part of the Army at present under his command to the reinforcement of this. A measure that will in all probability reduce Genl. Howe to the same situation in which Genl. Burgoyne now is, should he attempt to remain in Philadelphia without being able to remove the obstructions in Delaware, and opening a free communication with his shipping.

The Force which the Members of the Council of War judged it safe and expedient to draw down at present, are the three New Hampshire and Fifteen Massachusetts Regiments with Lee's and Jacksons two of the 16 Additionals. But it is more than probable that Genl. Gates may have destined part of these Troops to the reduction of Ticonderoga, should the Enemy not have evacuated it, or to the garrisoning of it, if they should. In that case, the reinforcement will vary according to circumstances; but, if possible, let it be made up to the same number out of other Corps.[93]

If, upon your meeting with Genl. Gates, you should find that he intends, in consequence of his Success, to employ the Troops under his command upon some expedition, by the prosecution of which the common cause will be more benefited than by their being sent down to reinforce this Army, it is not my wish to give any interruption to the plan. But if he should have nothing more in contemplation, than those particular objects which I have mentioned to you and which it is unnecessary to

[93]At this point there was stricken out the following: "You are to bear in mind that the demand for the above number of Troops is more in the nature of a requisition than a command, for Genl. Gates may, in consequences of his success have set some."

commit to paper, in that case you are to inform him, that it is my desire that the reinforcements before mentioned or such part of them as can be safely spared, be immediately put in march to join this Army.

I have understood, that Genl. Gates has already detached Nixon's and Glover's Brigades to join Genl. Putnam, and Genl. Dickinson informs me, that by intelligence, which he thinks may be depended upon, Sr. Henry Clinton has come down the River with his whole force. If this be a fact, you are to desire Genl. Putnam to send the two Brigades forward with the greatest expedition, as there can be no occasion for them there.[94]

I expect you will meet Colo. Morgan's Corps upon their way down; if you do, let them know how essential their Services are to us and desire the Colo. or commanding Officers to hasten their march, as much as is consistent with the health of the men after their late fatigues.

Let me hear from you when you reach the North River and upon your arrival at Albany. I wish you a pleasant Journey and am etc.[95]

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Head Quarters, October 30, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your favour of 26th. Instant, covering Governor Livingston's Letter to you, I received last evening, by which

[94] On October 26, after demolishing Forts Clinton and Montgomery and burning the barracks at Peekskill, Clinton retreated down the Hudson. Poor's, Warner's, Learned's, and Paterson's brigades were on their march to join Putnam, and these, exclusive of Morgan's riflemen, brought Putnam's total strength to about 9,000. Putnam called a council of war (October 31), which decided that 4,000 should move down to Haverstraw, 1,000 should remain in the Highlands, and the remainder should move down toward Kings Bridge, while Morgan's corps should join Washington at once. The proceedings of the council are in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[95] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

I observe he does not think himself authorized to give you the necessary orders respecting a compliance with my requisition.

Genl. Forman has been at Red Bank some days and has collected a small number of Men there, I have heard nothing of Genl. Newcomb for some time past, Genl. Forman writes me that he has issued orders to him, to join him without loss of time, with all the Men he can possibly raise, which, it seems, he has hitherto neglected notwithstanding my most pressing admonitions to him on this Head.

If upon the arrival of Genl. Winds[96] you find that the time for which his men were raised, is nearly expired, it will not answer any valuable purpose for him to proceed with them, unless you think they might be replaced there.

The terms of Genl. Burgoyne's surrender came to my hands a few days since. I am &ca.[97]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, Whitpain Township, October 30, 1777.

Parole Newbern. Countersigns Williamsburg, Annapolis.

The Brigadiers, and Officers commanding brigades, are without loss of time, to cause the Arms, and Ammunition of their men to be put in the best order. If due care be taken, cartridges somewhat damp may be dried and fitted for use.

The seamen in the six brigades, named in yesterday's orders, are to parade this forenoon, at ten o'clock, in front of Genl. Varnum's brigade, with every thing belonging to them, and provisions ready to march.

The execution of Thomas Roach is respited 'till to morrow.

[96] Brig. Gen. William Winds, of the New Jersey Militia.
[97] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

Such arms as are loaded, and cannot be drawn, are to be discharged, under direction of the officers, this afternoon, at four o'clock. But no pains are to be spared to draw all such as will possibly admit of it.

Divers horses and cattle being brought off by the detachment under Genl. McDougall, which lately crossed the Schuylkill; the persons who had or have them in possession are to report them immediately to the Qr. Mr. General.

Returns of the sick, to go to the General Hospital, are to be made to morrow morning, to the Surgeon General at Col. Biddle's quarters. A sufficient number of camp kettles are to sent with the sick. Those persons whose cases are very bad, are to be sent immediately to the Quaker's Meeting house, at the 20 mile stone, on the North Wales road; where the Surgeons of the hospital will receive them. The arms of the sick are to be left under the care of the Regimental Quarter Masters, who are to deliver them to the Commissary of Military Stores. A few orderly men are to go with the sick to the Quaker Meeting house, proportioned to the number of the sick.

Whenever a regiment marches, the surgeon belonging to it, is to march with it, to take care of the wounded and such as fall sick.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentence of a General Court Martial, held the 13th. instant, whereof Col. Brodhead was president.

Col. Alexander Martin of the 2nd. North Carolina Battalion, arrested for "Cowardice," was acquitted of the charge. He is therefore discharged from his arrest.

AFTER ORDERS

The General Court Martial of which General Sullivan is president, will proceed to morrow, to the trial of Genl. Maxwell. All witnesses are to attend at Genl. Sullivan's quarters.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, October 31, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 25th. from Fishkill. Although you say that the Enemy have passed down by that place, you do not say whether they have gone entirely down and evacuated the Forts upon the River, but from the tenor of your letter I imagine they have. I shall be glad to be particularly informed of this in your next, and also whether you have heard with certainty of the reinforcements having gone from N. York to Genl. Howe. We have a report that the Enemy have evacuated Rhode Island and returned to New York, but as it comes from no Authority, I shall be glad to be ascertained of the fact. If the Enemy have left the Forts, be pleased to let me know whether they have carried off or damaged the cannon.

I am glad to hear that Genl. Gates was sending down a reinforcement to you; as they will not now be wanted by you, they will be so far upon their way towards this Army, and I beg they may be sent forward with as much expedition as possible, for the reasons given you in mine of yesterday. I am &ca.[98]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Whitpain Township, October 31, 1777.

Parole Brookfield. Countersigns Blandford, Blenheim.

Richard Platt and Ronald Stephen McDougall Esqrs. are appointed Aids-de-Camp to Major General McDougall, and are to be respected as such.

The Deputy Quarter Masters General are to make a return to the Qr. Mr. General's office, of all equipage, and stores, waggons &c. in their respective divisions; the returns to be made to morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

[98] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentences of a General Court Martial, of the Brigade of horse held the 24th. instant, of which Col. Bland was president, vizt.

Col. Moylan charged with "Disobedience of the orders of Genl. Pulaski, a cowardly and ungentlemanlike action in striking Mr. Zielinski,[99] a Gentleman, and officer in the polish service when disarmed; and putting him under guard; and giving irritating language to Genl. Pulaski." The Court were of opinion that Col Moylan was not guilty, and therefore acquitted him of the charges exhibited against him.

Col. Moylan is discharged from arrest.

Some doubts having arisen with regard to the order of promotions, The Commander in Chief thinks it expedient again to declare, that promotions shall be regimental, as high as the rank of Captains inclusively. All from that rank in the line of the state. But subject nevertheless to such exceptions, as merit or unworthiness shall render just and proper, agreeably to the General Orders, formerly issued at Middlebrook, on this head.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, October 31, 1777.

Sir: The loss of our heavy Cannon on the North River, and the possibility, however remote, of our losing those which are in the Forts on the Delaware, in which case we should be totally divested of these necessary opponents to the Enemys Fleet, make it adviseable to remove from Red Bank and Fort Mifflin, all the large Calibers that can possibly be spared from the necessary defence of those posts, to some place of safety where they may be kept in reserve. Fort Mifflin has had an acquisition of cannon,

[99] Capt. John de Zielinski, later of Pulaski's legion.

taken from the Wreck of the Augusta, by which this will probably have a superfluous number. The approaching Frosts will effectually stop the Blasts of our Furnaces, which is a farther cogent Reason for making a store of heavy Cannon in case of accidents to our Forts. I mentioned in my Letter to Genl. Forman, that the Crews on board the Galleys should not expose themselves to the Fire of a Battery which he thinks the Enemy have raised for the purpose of interrupting them; but if a plan which I have suggested to him can be carried into execution, the difficulty will be removed and a farther acquisition made of the valuable Article in question. I am &ca.[1]

P. S. It will be necessary to consult the Commodore, upon the Subject above mentioned, he will judge of the safety with which the Galleys may proceed in dragging for the Cannon.[2]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Head Quarters, October 31, 1777.

Sir: Your Complaints respecting the Conduct of Brigr. Genl. Newcomb, give me the more concern at this time, as such backwardness and unwillingness to fulfil the Duties of his station as have been laid to his charge, might at this juncture have been attended with the most pernicious Consequences. As you have been a witness of his misconduct, you will be a very proper person to make a pointed Representation of it to those in Authority, who have a right to take cognisance of it, I shall do the same. The appearance of such a reinforcement as has lately been sent from this Army will perhaps induce the Militia to assemble with greater Readiness than they have discovered hitherto. I

[1] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

[2] The P. S. is not in the draft but is taken from this letter as printed in the *Magazine of American History*, vol. 7. The printed text there varies slightly from the draft, but in suchwise as to rouse suspicion of its accuracy.

have no doubt of the continuance of your Zeal and Efforts to collect a respectable body, and your success will be the more probable, as some of the obstacles to it are now removed.

If the Battery which you say is raising, be intended to annoy the Galleys that are fishing up the Spoils of the Augusta, it would be proper to restrain the Crews from exposing themselves in dragging for Cannon which they may get up hereafter without risk, much more so, if their object be only the plunder of Seamen's Chests &ca.

If the work above mentioned be a Simple Battery, it may be practicable to surprise and attack it in reverse, at little or no Expence. This you will duly consider and act accordingly, for we are not to exceed the limits of defensive war, unless some very favourable opportunity be offered. I am &ca.[3]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Head Quarters, October 31, 1777.

Sir: As soon as the Schuylkill is fordable, I shall send over a large body of Militia to you, for the purpose of executing some particular matters. The principal are, to endeavour to break up the Road, by which the Enemy have a communication with their Shipping over the Islands, if it is practicable and to remove the running Stones from the Mills in the Neighbourhood of Chester and Wilmington. This last, I would have you undertake immediately with your present force, as I have information that the Enemy are about making a Detachment to Wilmington, probably with an intent to take post there, and secure the use of the Mills. To execute this matter at once, you should impress a sufficient number of Waggons for the

[3] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

purpose, without letting any person know what they are for, and send them under good Officers with Sufficient parties to the following Mills. Lloyd's about two Miles on this side of Chester. Shaw's about one Mile back of Chester. Robinson's on Naamans Creek and the Brandywine Mills. If there are any others that I have not mentioned, contiguous to the River, they are also to be dismounted. Many of the Mills have spare runners, they must also be removed. The stones should be marked with Tar and Grease or in some other manner, that it may be known to what Mills they belong, that they may be returned and made use of in future. And they should be moved to such distance, that the Enemy cannot easily recover them. If there is any Flour in the Mills, it should be removed, if possible, after the Stones are secured. I am informed that there is a considerable quantity in Shaw's particularly, which there is reason to believe is intended for the Enemy. It is very convenient to the navigation to Chester Creek and should therefore be first taken care of. I beg you may instantly set about this work for the reason before mentioned. That no previous alarm may be given, let a certain day and a certain hour be fixed upon for the execution of the whole at one time, and even the Officers, who are to do the Business, should not know their destination till just before they set out, lest it should take wind.

I have yours of yesterday afternoon and am glad to hear that the flood has done so much damage to the meadows, endeavour by all means to keep the breaches open. When the party that I mentioned in the former part of my letter gets down, I hope you will be able to break up the dykes effectually. I am &ca.

P. S. I have desired Capt. Lee[4] of the light Horse to give you any assistance that you may want.[5]

[4] Capt. Henry ("Light Horse Harry") Lee.
[5] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., near White Marsh, November 1, 1777.

Sir: I was duly honored with Mr. Hancock's Letter of the 25th Ulto. with its Several Inclosures.

I shall take the case of John More[6] under consideration and will transmit Colo. Mason[7] my determination upon the same.

At this time, I cannot inform the Commissary, whether any alterations have or have not been made by General Orders, in the Original ration establishment. I have been under the necessity, from time to time, to send away my orderly Books, and they are necessary to be examined upon the Subject. However, I think it probable that a departure from the first allowance may have been found expedient, and directed by some authority, or the Commissary would not have adopted it. In respect to the alteration, referred to my consideration, it is a matter of consequence and I have desired the Genl. Officers to inform themselves whether it will be agreeable to the Army at large or what other regulations may be necessary in this Instance; As soon as I have their sentiments I will write Congress upon the subject.[8]

The Enemy still consider the possession of our Posts upon the River of great importance, and from their preparation of Fascines &c., and the best information I have been able to obtain, they will make further efforts to carry them. Viewing them in this light myself, and imagining that they would persevere in their plans to occupy them, I wrote some days ago in the most pressing terms to Genls. Dickinson, Forman and Newcomb to afford every aid in their Power from the Militia of Jersey. As yet we have received but little, and I have no encouragement

[6] A private in the Fourth Virginia Regiment. More had been condemned to death by a court-martial for deserting.

[7] Col. David Mason, of the Fifteenth Virginia Regiment.

[8] See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Nov. 11, 1777, *post*.

to expect, that it will be much augmented in a short time. This does not proceed from a want of Activity and exertion on the part of [the] two first mentioned Gentlemen, whose conduct and Zeal upon every occasion, give them a claim to the Public esteem, but in a considerable degree from the peculiar circumstances of their State at this time. The apprehensions of an Invasion from Staten Island, keep a large proportion of the Militia from the Eastern and upper part of the State, almost constantly employed at and in the neighbourhood of Elizh. Town and Mr. Livingston's Powers, as Governor, being expired, and no provision made, it seems, for such a contingency; there are none of sufficient authority to order them out, till a new appointment can be had; at least, there is ground to suspect, that the orders and exertions of these two Gentlemen, unassisted by Civil authority, will not be attended with the advantages we wish, and which our affairs require. As to Genl Newcomb, who is in the Neighbourhood of Red Bank, notwithstanding my most urgent and repeated solicitations, I have little to expect from him, if I may form an estimate of his future services from those he has already rendered. Under these circumstances, I have been obliged to detach a further reinforcement of Continental Troops under Genl. Varnum to maintain the two Garrisons if possible, besides Sailors drawn from the line, to Man the Gallies. This detachment, when it arrives, added to the force now in the Forts, will make the whole amount to 1600 effective Rank and file, sent from this Army.

After the Action of the 4th Ulto. at German Town, I hoped, we should have been in a situation to attack the Enemy again on those Grounds, and with more success than in the former instance; But this I was not able to effect. The Severe Rain on the 16th. of Septr, the action on the 4th, the removal of our Stores and having to form a new Elaboratory, added to the

small number of hands engaged in the business of it, laid us under difficulties in the capital and essential Article of Ammunition, that could not be surmounted. Every exertion was directed to obtain supplies, but notwithstanding, they were inadequate, too scanty, and insufficient to attempt any thing on a large and general scale before the Enemy withdrew themselves. With what we had, in case an experiment had been made, fortune might have decided in our favor for the present, but we should not have been afterwards in a situation to maintain the advantage we might have gained, and if a repulse had taken place and the Enemy pursued, for want of a reserve, we should have been exposed to the most imminent danger of being ruined. The distress of the soldiers for want of Shoes was also a powerful obstacle to the measure. I could wish, that our circumstances were now such, as to authorise a general attack for dislodging them from the City; but I think, that they are not. This also is the opinion of my Genl. Officers upon a full and comprehensive view of matters, as Congress will perceive by the inclosed Copy of the minutes of Council on the 29th Ulto., which I have taken the liberty to transmit and lay before them. The superiority of numbers on the part of the Enemy in respect to regular Troops; their superior discipline, and the Redoubts and lines which they have thrown up between the two Rivers and about the City. The happy state of our affairs at the Northward and the practicability of drawing succours from thence, the consequences of a defeat; these, were all motives which lead to a decision against an attack at this time. I have sent Colo. Hamilton, one of my aids, to Genl Gates, to give him a just representation of things and to explain to him the expediency of our receiving the reinforcements, which have been determined necessary, if they will not interfere and frustrate any important plans he may have formed. Indeed, I cannot

conceive that there is any object now remaining, that demands our attention and most vigorous efforts so much, as the destruction of the [British] Army in this Quarter. Should we be able to effect this, we shall have little to fear in future. Genl. Howe's force, according to the state now made, is more considerable, than it was generally supposed to be. I did not think it quite so great myself, but always imagined the common estimate much too low, nor can I possitively say what it really is. However, there are strong reasons to believe, that it is not overrated. After the evacuation of German Town, an almost infinite number of scraps and bits of Paper were found, which being seperated and arranged with great industry and care, bear the marks of genuine and authentic Returns at different Periods. The manner in which they were destroyed and disposed of give no room to suspect, that it was the effect of design. In addition to this, I am informed by Genl Putnam, that he had heard a reinforcement of 4. Regts. were coming round to Delaware from New York.

The inclosed Return[9] will give Congress a general view of the strength of this Army, when it was made and a particular one of the Forces of each state which compose it. By this, they will perceive, how greatly deficient the whole are in furnishing their just Quotas. The Militia from Maryland and Virginia are no longer to be counted on. All the former, except about 200 are already gone, and a few days, I expect, will produce the departure of the whole or chief part of the latter, from the importunate applications, which some of them have made. Besides this diminution, I am apprehensive, we shall have several men added to the sick list by reason of the late excessive Rain, and want of Cloaths.

[9]Marked as missing in the record copy of this letter in the file of the Secretary of Congress.

We have not yet come to any determination respecting the disposition of our Troops for the Winter; supposing it a matter of great importance, and that for the present we should be silent upon it. The reasons will readily occur. By continuing the Campaign, perhaps many salutary, if not decisive advantages may be derived. But it appears to me, that this must depend upon the supplies of Cloathing which the men receive. If they cannot be accomodated in this instance, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to do it without effecting their destruction.

I would take the liberty to mention, that I feel myself in a delicate situation with respect to the Marquis Le Fayette. He is extremely solicitous of having a Command equal to his Rank, and possesses very different Ideas as to the purposes of his appointment, from those Congress have mentioned to me. He certainly did not understand them. I do not know in what light they will view the Matter, but it appears to me, from a consideration of his illustrious and important connections, the attachment which he has manifested to our cause, and the consequences, which his return in disgust, might produce, that it will be adviseable to gratify him in his wishes, and the more so, as several Gentlemen from France, who came over under some assurances, have gone back disappointed in their expectations. His conduct with respect to them stands in a favorable point of view, having interested himself to remove their uneasiness and urged the impropriety of their making any unfavorable representations upon their arrival at home, and in all his letters has placed our affairs in the best situation he could. Besides, he is sensible, discreet in his Manner, has made great proficiency in our Language and from the disposition he discovered at the Battle of Brandy Wine, possesses a large share of bravery and Military ardor.

There is a French Gentn. here, Monsieur Vrigney, in whose favor the Marquis seems much interested. He assures me he is

an Officer of great merit and from that motive and a regard to the service wishes to see him promoted. The Rank he holds in France and his present expectation are contained in the inclosed Copy of a paper,[10] given me by the Marquis. Monsr. Vrigney also has Honble. certificates of his services nearly corresponding with the Marquis's account of them. If Congress are pleased to honor him with a Commission in the Army of the States, I must try to imploy him.

I took the liberty some short time ago, to mention to Congress the situation of the first nine raised Virginia Regts. and the term for which they stand engaged; and considering that we should suffer greatly by the loss of so large a part of our force, which have been long enured to Service, I thought it advisable to consult the Officers commanding them upon the mode which should appear to them best calculated to reinlist them. They accordingly met, and reported their Sentiments in writing, a Copy of which I have inclosed.[10] I do not know that expedients, more promising of success than those they have pointed out, can be adopted. Congress will be pleased to give the matter their earliest attention, and to favor me with their opinion by the first opportunity, whether the indulgence and allowance they have proposed may be granted, and if any additional Bounty may be given, what it shall be. The high sums paid for substitutes and drafts of late, even in the Militia service, will make this necessary. For the Soldiers, being well apprized of that Fact, will not be induced to engage again during the War or for three years, for the usual Premium.

I would also lay before Congress a Remonstrance by the Subaltern Officers in the Virginia line,[10] founded on a reform, I thought necessary to take place in the Regts. from that state. These in their establishment were made to consist of Ten Companies. Two more, than were assigned to those of the States in

[10]Marked as missing in the record copy of this letter.

general. This and the great disproportion between the Officers and Men induced me to reduce them to a level, with the rest belonging to the Continent, in order to prevent a considerable, unnecessary expence. To effect this, no new promotions are to be made in the Two extra Companies viz. the 9th and 10th. either to vacancies existing at the time of the Regulation, or to any future ones that may happen therein; and the Subalterns are to remain in their Rank and Command, till they can be promoted in the other eight companies and their Men incorporated. This is what they complain of. I have made a short state of facts, and wish Congress to determine upon them and the remonstrance, as they shall think proper.[11]

At the request of Govr. Clinton, I have transmitted a Copy of his letter to me, giving an account of Genl. Vaughan's expedition up the North River, after the Capture of Fort Montgomery, and of the destruction committed by his Troops in burning Kingston and the houses and Mills on the River. According to the latest advices, they have returned again, and it is reported, that they have destroyed the Barracks and Forts and gone to New York, But this is not confirmed.[12]

A few days ago, Mr. Franks of Philadelphia, Agent for the British Prisoners, sent out 6000 Continental Dollars to Mr. Richard Graham of Virginia, for the subsistence of the Hessians and other Prisoners in that state. The Policy of Suffering the Enemy to support their Prisoners with money which they refuse themselves and which they attempt to deprecate in every instance they possibly can, appears to me very questionable,

[11] Marked as missing in the record copy of this letter.

[12] The British expedition up the Hudson was commanded by Sir James Wallace and Maj. Gen. John Vaughan. All the boats found in the river and the houses and mills on the banks were burned. On October 15 Kingston was completely destroyed. Vaughan claimed that his troops had been fired upon from houses in Kingston. As soon as the news of Burgoyne's surrender reached Vaughan, the British returned down the river to Fort Montgomery and, soon afterwards, to New York.

and the more so, as it may be Counterfeited. Besides, they have laid us under every difficulty they can devise, as to our Prisoners in their hands. Nothing will do for their support but hard money. If the Enemy were obliged to furnish the same, the quantity with us would be greater, and of course the means of relieving ours easier. I do not know, what consequences a Prohibition against receiving Continental Money or the Currency of any state from them, might involve. I think the Subject is worthy of the consideration of Congress, and for that reason I have mentioned it.

November 3.

The report of the Enemy's having destroyed the Forts and Barracks on the North River and of their having returned to New York is confirmed. I this morning received a letter from Genl. Putnam upon the subject, a copy of which is transmitted.[13] The information, that they mean to reinforce Genl Howe, I doubt not is true. It has come through several channels, and nothing is more probable. As to their having a further expedition in view, it seems to be questionable. Genl Burgoyne's defeat and the Eastern Troops being ready to be employed in another way, are circumstances against the measure.

Agreeable to my expectation, the Virginia Militia are gone, so that we have none now, in aid of the Continental Troops, but those of this state mentioned in the Return, and a few from Maryland. I do not know what can or will be done to obtain further reinforcements of them. But it appears to me, taking matters in any point of light, that further aids should come from Virginia and Maryland. For should we be able to accomodate the Continental forces with Cloathes, so as to carry on a winters Campaign, their assistance will be material, either

[13] This letter, dated Oct. 31, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*.

to maintain a Blockade, or in any decisive stroke we may attempt. And if they cannot be so provided, and we should be obliged to retire into Quarters, their service will be still more necessary to assist in covering the country against incursions for forage and Provisions. The militia of this State, themselves, supposing they should be tolerably vigorous in their exertions, will not be equal to the task. At least it will be difficult, if not impracticable, for them to do it. It is to be wished, that such as can be drawn out, may be engaged to serve three Months or two at least (if it can be effected) after their arrival in Camp, and that a mode would be adopted to supply their places with others at the expiration of their term, should the exigency of our affairs require it. A time for their continuance should be fixed, or they will always be uneasy and pushing off; and the longer circumstances will admit it to be, the better. For after the period incurs, for which they come, it will be impossible to retain them a moment. As to the number that should be required, it is difficult to determine. However it is likely it will fall short of the requisition, as it ever has, upon such occasions.

There is a report prevailing in Camp, which has come thro' several Channels, that a successful expedition has been made upon Rhode Island and 800 Prisoners taken with several pieces of Artillery and a large quantity of Salt. I heartily wish it may be true, but at present it wants confirmation.

Mr. Thompsons letter of the 21 Ulto. with its inclosures came to hand yesterday.[14] I join Congress most sincerely, in congratulations on our important success in the surrender of Genl. Burgoyne at the Head of his Forces, and am happy they have received a confirmation of the event from Genl Gates. I have the honor etc.[15]

[14] Thomson's letter, dated Oct. 31, 1777 (not 21, as Grayson wrote it), is in the *Washington Papers*.

[15] In the writing of William Grayson; the draft is in that of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, November 1, 1777.

Sir: I think it not only incumbent upon me but a duty which I owe to the public, to represent to you the unaccountable conduct of Brigr. General Newcomb at this critical time. As soon as the Enemy shewed a disposition to possess themselves of Billing'sport and Red Bank, I wrote to him in the most urgent manner, to collect and keep up as many Militia, as he possibly could, to assist in the defence of Red Bank, in particular till I could afford a proper Garrison of Continental Troops; and altho' I received no very favorable Accounts of his activity or exertions, I imagined that he had been doing some thing towards it. On the 26th Ulto. Genl. Forman arrived at Red Bank, with a few of his own Continental Regiment and some of the Monmouth Militia and wrote me as follows,

> The lower Militia under General Newcomb have not as yet produced a single man. As being elder in Command than Newcomb, I have taken the liberty this day, to issue orders for their immediate assembling, and will from time to time do every thing in my power to assemble them;

On the 29th he writes me again,

> Previous to the receipt of yours of the 27th I had given orders to several of the Militia Officers of this part of the County, to assemble their Men and have used my endeavours with General Newcomb to obtain a Return of the Men, it is said he has assembled, that they might be put on some duty either in the Garrisons or on some out guards, but the General absolutely refuses to render me any account of himself or his Men, that I am not able to inform your Excellency, whether he really has or has not any men assembled.

In another paragraph of the same letter he says,

> Yet I think I could be able to collect a respectable body of Militia, was I able to overcome the obstinacy of, or to displace Genl. Newcomb, from the best information I can collect he has at no time given any assistance

either to the Garrisons or the fleet, particularly in the late attack upon Red Bank, he neither harrassed the Enemy in their advance, during the Assault, or in their retreat. He thinks of himself only accountable to the Governor or Major General Dickenson, I should be glad of your Excellency's directions respecting my treatment of him.[16]

I shall make no Comments, but leave it to the opinion of yourself and the Gentlemen of the Legislature, whether such a Man is fit to command in a part of the State immediately the object of the Enemy's attention, and in which the most vigorous measures ought to be pursued. If you would only direct him to obey General Forman as a Senior Officer, much good to the Service would result from it.

I had been more than commonly pressing with General Newcomb to Assemble men at Red bank, because I found by Letters from General Forman, that scarce any part of the 2000 men ordered under his Command to the reinforcement of this Army, were from a variety of Circumstances to be expected;[17] and therefore I should be able to afford less assistance of Continental Troops, to that Valuable post.

Colo. Dayton will inform you of the reduction of the Regiments of your State in point of Numbers and of the distress which they will labour under for want of Necessaries unless some measures can be fallen upon for supplying them. These are matters which deserve your most serious consideration and which I recommend to your attention.

It is in vain to think of filling up your Regiments by the common mode of enlistment, while the pernicious practice of hiring substitutes for the Militia prevails; for what man will engage

[16] Both of Forman's letters, dated Oct. 26 and Oct. 29, 1777, are in the *Washington Papers*.

[17] The draft at this point stated that part of these 2,000 men were ordered to Monmouth County, N. J., to overawe the disaffected and to guard the salt works; but these lines were crossed out.

to serve during the War for a bounty of twenty dollars, when he can get twice as much for serving one Month in the Militia. Some of the Eastern States and Virginia have adopted the mode of drafting and I am told it succeeds, and was the practice universal, the people would not think it a hardship. I do not mention this by way of dictating to or directing you, I only do it to shew what has been found to answer the end in other States. I am confident that could we once be happy enough to fill the Continental Regiments, we should never have occasion to trouble the Militia again.

Circumscribed as we are in our importations from abroad, the Cloathier General finds it impossible to comply with the full demands of the whole Army. It therefore becomes incumbent upon the different States, to endeavour to procure the most material Articles of Blankets, Shoes and Stockings, at this inclement Season; and I am convinced if Assessments of these things were laid upon those only who do not perform Military Service, enough might be found to make the Troops comfortable; I have repeatedly sent out Officers to make Collections, but they either do it partially or neglect it wholly. I must therefore intreat you to lay this matter before your legislature as early as possible, and press them to make provision in such way as seems to them most likely to answer the end. I have the honor etc.[18]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, November 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: As representation has been made to me, that the Purchase of Cattle has intirely ceased for some time past in the State of Connecticut, by means of those Gentlemen not

[18] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

chusing to act who were appointed by Congress for that purpose, by which our Army may possibly suffer for the want of Meat in a short time. I have therefore to request that you will without loss of time appoint one or more Gentlemen in that State who will immediately set about this desirable Business, and forward what they can procure to the Commissary of Purchases at this Army after supplying the Troops which may be beyond the North River. Mr. Buchanan[19] (Commissary General) will go to Connecticut in a short time and ratify any contracts as well as pay the Gentleman you think proper to nominate for his trouble &ca. or pay any drafts here which may be necessarily drawn by him. I am &ca.[20]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL
JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 1, 1777.

Sir: I hope this will find you arrived safe at Red Bank with your detachment. By letters from the Baron D'Arendt, who has retired for a few days to the Jersey side, for the benefit of his health, I understand that what they principally fear at Fort Mifflin is a surprise by night, or a lodgment upon the upper end of the Island, by which they may cover themselves before morning and open a Battery upon the Rear of the Fort, which is only secured by Pallisadoes. The only method of guarding effectually against this, is by keeping Boats stationed at night between Fort and Province Island to give an immediate alarm, and when the weather is calm, if the Gallies were to lay near the Island to be ready to begin to fire upon the first landing of the Enemy, it would harrass and retard them much in their

[19] William Buchanan, Commissary General of Purchases of the Continental Army.
[20] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

operations. I am afraid that matters do not go on smoothly between the commandant at Fort Mifflin and the Commodore, as there are every now and then complaints of inattention in the Commodore, but I do not know whether with just Grounds. I beg you will do all in your power to reconcile any differences that may have arisen, not by taking notice of them in a direct manner, but by recommending unanimity and demonstrating the manifest advantages of it. As the Commodore will have a considerable reinforcement after you arrive, I hope he will be able to afford more assistance than he has hitherto done.[21] You will have an opportunity of seeing and conversing with the Baron Arendt, and I must beg you will lay such plans, as will most effectually contribute to the mutual support and defence of your posts, for you are to consider that if one falls the other goes of course. As soon as you have looked about you and taken a survey of the Ground about you I shall be glad to have your opinion of matters. I am &ca.[22]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

November 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: When I last had the pleasure of seeing you, I advised you to collect all the Shoes, Stockings, Shirts, Breeches, &ca. which could be spared by the Country, in order to supply such of the Soldiery, as might stand most in need of them, and gave you every Authority in my power for this purpose. Now,

[21] At this point in the draft the following is crossed out: "I have repeatedly ordered the whole of Province Island except the part upon which the Fort stands to be laid under water, but from Colo. Smith's last letter I do not clearly understand."

The charge was that Commodore Hazelwood did not use the armed galleys to prevent the British Navy from sending in supplies to the army in Philadelphia every night. The route of the vessels after dark was between Province Island and Fort Mifflin, which could not use its cannon, except by wasting precious ammunition by random firing in the dark.

[22] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

as the Detachment which first marched down to Fort Mifflin under command of Lt. Colo. Smith, must be much distressed for Cloathing, I have desired him to call upon you, and request you may furnish him with such of these Articles as you have got, and he may stand in need of. The Situation of these men, I am satisfied, will induce you to do every thing in your power upon this occasion. I am etc.[23]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, November 1, 1777.

Sir: I have this moment received your favour of Yesterday, and hope General Varnum with the Detachment from this Army, have by this time arrived to your support, and that your little Garrison will, with the greatest confidence and vigor, exert itself to baffle every attempt of the Enemy to reduce it. When I last saw General Forman, I authorized him to collect all the Cloathing, such as shoes, stockings, shirts, Breeches &ca. which he possibly could; and by this Opportunity I have requested him, to let you have as many of them as he can spare for your Men, who, I make no doubt must be greatly in want of them, you will therefore apply to him.

From the idea I at present bear of the Island on which your fort stands, I am of opinion, that, if the upper end of it was laid under water, it would very much retard any operations of the Enemy against you; but whether this is practicable, or whether opening the Banks to effect it, would not be productive of Inconvenience to the Fort, I leave to you and the Officers with you to determine, and only mean to propose it for your consideration. I am &ca.[23]

[23] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, Whitpain Township,
November 1, 1777.

Parole Newtown. Countersigns, Reading, Stamford.

The commissaries are directed to take all the liquors in the hands of the sutlers, at a reasonable price if they can agree, and if they cannot, the sutlers are to carry them away: And no sutler shall be allowed to continue in the camp after the 5th. instant.

A General Court-Martial of which General Sullivan was president, was held the 25th, 26th, 27th and 30th of October last, for the trial of Brigadier General Wayne on the following charge, viz, "That he had timely notice of the enemy's intention, to attack the troops under his command, and on the night of the 20th. of Septr. last, and notwithstanding that intelligence, neglected making a disposition, until it was too late either to annoy the enemy, or make retreat, without the utmost danger and confusion." Upon which the Court pronounced their sentence as follows:

"The Court having fully considered the charge against Brigadier Genl. Wayne, and the evidence produced to them, are unanimously of opinion that Genl. Wayne is not guilty of the charge exhibited against him, but that he, on the night of the 20th. Ultimo (that is of Septr. last) did every thing that could be expected from an active, brave, and vigilant officer, under the orders he then had. The Court do acquit him with the highest honor."

The Commander in Chief approves the sentence.

Henceforward, whenever any Non-commissioned officers, or soldiers, shall be confined, for crimes not triable by Regimental

Courts Martial; the Brigadiers or officers commanding brigades, are, without delay, to order Brigade Courts Martial to try them; and the sentences of such courts they are to approve or disapprove, and cause to be executed, as to them shall appear just; except only where the prisoners are sentenced to suffer death.

As an encouragement to all persons to take up and bring to Head-Quarters, any deserters from the Continental Army, the Commander in Chief hereby promises a reward of *Ten Dollars* for each deserter so taken and brought in, besides One Shilling a mile for every mile they travel; to be computed from the place where he is taken, to camp; This bounty, and mileage, to be paid to all non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who shall bring in deserters, as well as to the inhabitants of the states.

Many reasons have concurred, to induce the Commander in Chief, to extend *mercy* to Thomas Roach, now under sentence of death, for desertion; and to grant him his pardon; which is hereby declared. He is to return to his corps immediately. The Commander in Chief expecting, that by his future good behaviour, he will attone for his past crimes, and shew himself worthy of this act of clemency.

AFTER ORDERS

The army is to march to morrow morning at ten o'clock, with all the baggage, the right wing down the Shippack road, in this order from the left; Genl. Wayne's division, Genl. Sullivan's, Lord Stirlings, followed by the park of Artillery, and waggons of that wing, in the order of the divisions. The left wing down the road on which General Greene is encamped, in this order, General McDougall's division, General Greene's, General Stephen's, followed by the waggons in the order of

the divisions; the left wing to march by the right. The North Carolina brigade to march with General McDougall's division, and to be considered as a part of it, during the absence of General Varnum's brigade. The horse are to be divided, half marching, at the head of each column. The leading divisions will beat a march when they move, to be followed by the other divisions in their order. General Irvine's brigade to follow the right wing, and Genl. Smallwood's division the left wing.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White-Marsh, November 2, 1777.

Parole Morristown. Countersigns Brunswick, Amboy.

Each division is to open a road into the best and nearest main road, leading into the country, by which the waggons and troops may move with the greatest ease and dispatch. The Commander in Chief relies upon the officers commanding divisions to see this necessary work performed as soon as possible. The waggons are to be regularly drawn up, in the best order, for moving, and every night the horses are to be had to the waggons, and gear'd every morning at day light.

The Division and Brigade Quarter Masters are to provide straw for the troops, taking none that is not threshed, But the men will collect what they can find for the same use.

The General Court Martial of which General Sullivan is president, is to sit to morrow morning, at nine o'clock, at the president's quarters, for the trial of Major General Stephen, upon the charges exhibited against him, the delay that may arise from the appointment of new members, and the impracticability of changing the General Officers, without introducing those who have already been on the court of enquiry, relative to the same charges, renders it necessary that this trial should be before the same court.

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Whitpin, Morris's,[24] November 2, 1777.

Sir: Upon maturely considering the nature of the fortress on Mud Island, incomplete in such works as would secure it against Storm, and investigating what mode of defence is best adapted to its deficiency in this respect, it appears absolutely necessary to keep the Enemy at bay, as much as possible and confine them to distant Combat, this can only be effected by the cooperation of the Fleet under your command, or such part of it as may appear to you proper to be detached for the purpose. Nothing but the fire of your Vessels and Galleys can prevent the Enemy's making a descent upon the Island, if they are determined to effect it by such a sacrifice as the importance of the object to them certainly deserves. I would advise therefore, in case of the Enemys attempting to throw a number of men over in boats, not to suffer the attention of the Fleet to be intirely called off by any concerted attempt, which may be made on the Chevaux de frize at the same time; but to order a sufficient number of Galleys to meet their boats and keep up a well directed fire, or board them as Circumstances may require; in a word every measure should be taken, which your skill in naval manœuvres can dictate, to prevent them from getting footing on the Island. A fire of red hot balls, thrown with Judgment from a few Vessels, and the solidity of the work itself will be a sufficient security, in the mean time, to the Chevaux de frize. If the Enemy can be foiled in this Stratagem of causing a diversion to your fleet, by cannonading from their ships, and making preparations to clear the Chevaux de frize, there will be but one way left them which is to attempt a landing

[24] Morris's was James Morris's house, now called "Dawesfield," about 1 mile west of Ambler, Pa.

by night, how necessary the Guardianships of the Galleys will be in such case, must be obvious. If a sudden assault from superior numbers, taking the advantage of weak parts, would be dreadful by day, when something of the Enemy's designs is to be discovered, how fatal might it be in the confusion of darkness, when the Guns of the Fort could not be brought to bear.

Galleys stationed between the Fort and Province Island at night, are the only security which the Garrison could have in such case against a sudden descent from the Enemy, covered perhaps by false attacks and Demonstration from the Shipping.

You are the best Judge of the most proper Situation for the Galleys; however, if there is no cogent Reason for keeping the whole of them on the Jersey side, it appears to me that stationing them or part of them where they will be within distance for giving immediate Support to the Garrison on Mud Island would be turning their Service to the best account. I am &ca.[25]

To JOHN HANCOCK

Head Quarters, November 2, 1777.

Dr. Sir: Your favor of the 25th I received on Monday Afternoon. You have my warmest wishes for your recovery, and I shall be happy if your recess should be attended with benefits, superior to your most sanguine expectations. Your exertions to promote the General Interest, I am well convinced will be unceasing, and that every measure, the situation of your health will permit you to pursue, will be employed to that end, whether you are in Congress or obliged to remain in the State of Massachusetts.

I have ordered Cornet Buckmer, with 12 Dragoons, to attend you as an escort and to receive your Commands. For this purpose, you will be pleased to retain them, as long as you may

[25] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

consider their attendance necessary. I would willingly have directed a larger Number, but the severe duty the Horse have been obliged to perform, for a long time past, has rendered many of them unfit for Service, to which I must add, that we are under a necessity of keeping several considerable patroles of them constantly along the Enemys Lines. These reasons, I trust, will apologize for the Escorts being so small.

I have taken the liberty to trouble you with the inclosed Letters, containing a Proclamation respecting deserters,[26] which I must request the favor of you to put into some safe Channel of Conveyance to the Printers. That for Mr. Loudon I imagine will get to hand by delivering it to Govr. Clinton or Genl. Putnam. Those for Rhode Island and New Hampshire will go safe from the Post Office at New Haven or Hartford.

I have nothing further to add, than to wish you an agreeable Journey and a happy meeting with your lady and friends, and to assure you that, I am etc.[27]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 3, 1777.

Sir: I am favd. with yours of this date. Except our Army was upon the other side of the Schuylkill it would be impossible to take and keep possession of the Enemy's Works upon Province Island. The Virginia Militia who will remain with you for a few days, were to have left their Arms at Lancaster, but you may now take as many from them as will furnish yours that want, before they leave you. The State of Pennsylvania, I believe, furnished the Virginia Militia with some Arms at Lancaster, if they did, let a like Number be first drawn, and if they are not sufficient, make up the deficiency and keep an exact account that the Continent may get them again. You will

[26] See Proclamation, Oct. 24, 1777, *ante*.
[27] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

continue to do what you can to interrupt the communication, and to furnish me with any intelligence that you may obtain. I am Sir etc.

P. S. I beg you will use every Mean in your power to hinder your Militia from carrying home the public Arms. If any desert and carry them with them let them be sent after and if the Men are not brought back, let the Arms at least be recovered. If this is not done, when the Continental Regiments are compleated there will not be a Musket for them.[27]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 3, 1777.

Sir: I am favored with yours of the 24th, and am glad to find that such supplies of Lead are upon the way to the different Elaboratories. Lining the flap of the Cartouch [boxes] with painted Canvas will certainly be of Service, considering the badness and thinness of the leather in general; but the greatest preservative to the Cartridges, is a small inside flap of pliant leather, which lays close upon the top of them and not only keeps them dry but from being rubbed. As the Recruits arrive let them be immediately forwarded in to Camp, where I keep a supply of Arms ready to furnish them. If they want necessaries they should call upon the Cloathier Genl. at Lancaster and endeavour to get what they can.

I will take the opinion of the General Officers upon the Petition of Colo. Portail and see whether they think his services merit the rank he claims. If you examine the petition attentively, you may remember that Colo. Portail founds his claim upon the promise of Congress. These are the Words,

But in the mean time we were promised, that we should not be left long with the Commissions we then accepted and that the Congress only

[27] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From the original in the possession of Leonard Opdyke, of Boston, Mass., to whom the editor is indebted.

wanted to have an Opportunity of saying that a Lt Colo. in the royal Corps of French Engineers had been satisfied in this Army with the Rank of Colonel. A Major in said Corps with the rank of Lt. Colonel. A Captain with that of a Major.

If this is so, it ought certainly to carry great weight in the determination. But it is a matter of which I am entirely ignorant, as I never saw Col Portail before he presented his Commission to me in August last. I am &c.[28]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White-Marsh, November 3, 1777.

Parole Cumberland. Countersigns Lancaster, York.

The officers and men are by no means to be absent from camp; provisions for to day and to morrow are to be drawn and cooked immediately, and every thing held in readiness for marching at the shortest notice.

The Brigadiers and Officers commanding brigades are, without loss of time, to provide themselves each with a guide well acquainted with the neighbouring country.

The Waggons are to be in the rear of their respective divisions, and kept ready to move as directed in yesterday's orders.

The Quarter-Masters are to cause necessaries, to be made for the convenience of each brigade.

The Colonel of each regiment of horse, is to make a return, of the number and condition of his horses, and furniture, and of the arms and accoutrements of his men; the returns to be delivered in to morrow forenoon without fail.

[28] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

INDEX

INDEX

By David M. Matteson

Absence without leave, orders against straggling, 2*n*, 28, 168, 171, 190, 243; officers, returns, suspended, 30, 63, 90, 191, 379, 404; search for stragglers, after battle, 36, 209, 212, 217, 218, 235, 244, 298; straggling in march, 125–127, 129; rejoined missing after battle, 313, 343; reporting absent with leave, 343. *See also* Desertion; Furloughs.

Abuse and insult, of and by officers, 167, 403, 472.

Accounts, claims, and warrants, for horses, 94.

Accouterments. *See* Equipments.

Acquackanonck, N. J., troops at, 66*n*.

Adair, *Corp.* John, court-martial, reduced, 167.

Adams, *Lieut.* Francis, quartermaster, theft from, 360.

Adams, John, committee on Burgoyne campaign, 83*n*.

Adams, *Maj.* Peter, officer's abuse, 403; service, 403*n*.

Additional Continental regiments, Cornell's, dropped, 194; diverted companies, 353, 364. *See also* Forman, David; German Battalion; Hartley, Thomas; Hazen, Moses; Henley, David; Jackson, Henry; Lee, William Raymond; Malcom, William; Patton, John; Spencer, Oliver; Thurston, Charles Mynn; Warner, Seth.

Addresses by Washington to army, on depredations, 178; before and after Brandywine, 181, 211; before and after Germantown, 305, 312; on Bemis Heights as example, 377; on surrender of Burgoyne, 390.

Adjutant general, and requisition of arms, 19; and courts-martial, 90; deputy, 168; Conway and appointment, 389*n*, 390*n*. *See also* Pickering, Timothy.

Agnew, *Gen.* James, killed, 319, 323*n*, 327, 330, 331, 336, 355, 374, 398.

Agriculture. *See* Depredations; Fences.

Aides. *See* Military secretaries.

Alarm, signals before Brandywine, 169.

Alexander, *Capt.* Charles, Fort Mifflin, 283, 284.

Alexander, Francis, declaration, 152.

Allen, ——, house at Mount Airy, 308, 309.

Allentown, Pa., military stores, 236.

Allowances. *See* Pay.

American Revolution. *See* Army; Commerce; Communication; Continental Congress; Finances; Foreign relations; Indians; Loyalists; Navy.

Ammunition, care, inspection, 137, 139, 169, 212, 234, 353, 363, 461, 469; in advance, 180; for militia, 222; damaged in march, saving, 231, 234, 237, 238, 258, 262, 272; supply, 237, 348; for Delaware River defense, 261, 283, 293, 369, 371*n*, 393, 395, 423, 433, 434, 460; spare wagons, 277; army, for navy, 287; lead, 351, 415, 417, 497; failure at Germantown, 398; lack, 478. *See also* Arms; Cartridges.

Amnesty, Howe's proclamations, 152, 300, 306; deserters, 406, 426, 427, 496.

Amphitrite, stores by, 194.

Anderson, *Capt.* Ephraim, letter to, 67.

Anderson, *Capt.* Patrick, absent, suspended, 378.

Andrea Doria, U. S. S., Delaware River defense, 427*n*.

Angell, *Col.* Israel, Delaware River defense, instructions, 326, 328, 333–335, 343, 345, 371*n*, 376, 380, 393; service, 326*n*; regiment brigaded, 380; letter to, 380; seamen, 400.

Annes, John, court-martial, 30.

Anster, Nathaniel, court-martial, 89.

Antill, *Lieut. Col.* Edward, shoes, 43.

Applegate, Daniel, court-martial, 268.

Arbitration, of rent of Martha Washington's dower lands, 281.

Arendt, *Col.* Henry Leonard Philip, *baron* d', letters to, 256, 394, 406; Delaware River defense, instructions, ill, 256, 261, 321*n*, 393–396, 406, 409, 410, 416, 444, 458, 488, 489.

Armand-Tuffin, *Col.* Charles, *marquis* de la Rouerie, disobedient officer, 31; independent corps, 100; complaint, 155; depredations by corps, 162, 166, 167; letter to, 166.

Armistage, ——, house, 307.

Armorers, need, 19, 20; chief, 20, 400*n;* detachment for service, 167.

Arms, care, inspection, after battle, 2, 6, 10, 134, 169, 209, 234, 237, 348, 353, 363, 469; firing forbidden and permitted, carrying loaded, 2, 200, 354, 378, 469; unaccountable lack, inquiry, carrying off, 18, 19, 497; repairs, needed facilities, 19, 20, 167, 400*n*; officers' neglect, 31, 32; pay for deserters', 92; lack for militia, 132, 140, 163, 175, 222, 230, 260, 274, 275, 278, 496; flints, 138; damaged, replacement, 140*n*, 231, 238, 262; chests, 145; supply, 169, 270, 324, 348; punishment for losing or disposing of, 170, 363; return by state, 324; excessive

requisition, 330; returns on needed, 341; general lack, 362; equalizing caliber in brigade, 363; importation, 416; dragoon swords, 421; captured, use, 425; for recruits, 497. *See also* Ammunition; Artillery.

Armstrong, Edward A., letters possessed by, 37*n*, 131*n*, 355*n*, 414*n*.

Armstrong, *Gen.* John, militia in Philadelphia campaign, 128, 180, 200, 201; letters to, 130, 220, 337; Brandywine and after, 207, 215, 265, 278, 297; councils of war, 262, 263*n*, 279; Germantown and after, 307–309, 309*n*, 337.

Army. *See* British army; Continental army; Militia.

Arnold, *Gen.* Benedict, sent to Northern army, influence, 13; rank question, 35*n*; Fort Stanwix, 103, 106, 151, 154, 157, 162, 165, 174*n*, 176; Bemis Heights, wounded, 377.

Arsenal. *See* Springfield, Mass.

Artificers, on march, 80.

Artillery, Philadelphia campaign, in march and camp, 8, 24, 116, 119, 125, 126, 129, 131, 169, 180, 226*n*, 251, 297, 332, 492; recruiting, state law against, 84; court-martial of soldiers, 167, 168, 170, 439; Hudson River, 290; Virginia regiments, 301, 302, 332. *See also* Cannon; Knox, Henry; regiments by number.

Ashmead, *Capt.* Jacob, soldier's abuse, 167; service, 167*n*.

Assault, by officers, 88, 89, 472; by soldier, 170. *See also* Abuse.

Augusta, H. M. S., destroyed, 422*n*, 423*n*, 428, 430, 436, 441, 448*n*, 450, 453; spoils from, 473, 474.

Avis, Christian, court-martial, 303.

Ax men, duty, 286, 297.

Aylett, William, deputy commissary general of purchases, letter to, 289; British at Head of Elk, 289.

Ayres, *Capt.* Benjamin, Delaware River defense, 371*n*.

Bacon, in officers' provisions, 204.

Baggage, in advance and action, limitation, 6, 24, 28, 139, 180, 181, 192, 193, 200; movement of heavy, 32, 33, 35, 192, 254, 267, 286; wagons, in line of march, returns, 140, 193, 297, 298; guards, unnecessary, 180, 243, 255; bat horses, 421. *See also* Transportation.

Bailey, *Capt.* Montjoy, company, 30; service, 30*n*.

Baker, Jacob, court-martial, 99.

Ball, George A., letter possessed by, 198*n*.

Ballard, *Maj.* Robert, letter to, 433; Delaware River defense, 433; service, 433*n*.

Baltimore, and Howe's movements, 138; militia rendezvous, 147.

Barnet, *Capt.* William, passports, 159; character, 159*n*; letter to, 195*n*; ordered to camp, 195*n*.

Barracks, at Peekskill, destroyed, 187, 400*n*, 482, 483; construction in New Jersey, 234.

Barret, John, court-martial, 303.

Bartholomew, *Capt.* Benjamin, company, 89; service, 89*n*.

Bartholomews Tavern, Pa., 269.

Bat horses, officers', 421.

Bate, James, officers' ration accounts, 101; office, 101*n*.

Bathing, "moderate," 10.

Bauer, Jacob. *See* Bower.

Baum, *Lieut. Col.* Friedrich, Bennington, 115, 132.

Baylor, *Col.* George, letters to, 24, 131, 131*n*, 433*n*; recruiting regiment, difficulties, Carolina men, supernumerary officers, 24, 118, 131; Philadelphia campaign, in march, 114, 125, 131; officer court-martialed, 404. *See also* Cavalry.

Bell, *Col.* Patterson, letter to, 157; volunteers for Philadelphia campaign, 157.

Bemis Heights (Saratoga), battle, 371, 372, 382; general orders on, as example, celebration, 377, 378; casualties, 377.

Bennington, battle, 115, 131*n*; general orders on, 122; casualties, 123, 454; papers, 132, 133; handbill, 174.

Berkeley County, Va., militia for Philadelphia campaign, 353.

Berkeley Springs (Warm Springs), W. Va., Washington's lots, required buildings, 449.

Berry, *Capt.* Thomas, court-martial, 31; retires, 31*n*.

Bethlehem, Pa., army baggage, 254, 255, 267, 286; stores, 292; impressing clothing, 319.

Biddle, *Col.* Clement, inspection of stored baggage, 267; letters to, 269, 323*n*; impressment warrant, 269.

Biddle, *Capt.* Nicholas, cruise, prizes, 299, 305.

Bignal, George, court-martial, 122.

Billet Tavern, Pa., 37; Washington's bill, 54*n*.

Billingsport, N. J., as point for defense, 47–51; abandoned, British at, 283, 284, 321, 331*n*, 332, 350.

Bird, *Capt.* Thomas, company, 122.

Bird, *Lieut.* William, letters to, 68, 81; pay or resignation, 68, 69, 81, 82.

Birmingham Meeting House (Chads Ford), Pa., hospital for sick, 193; headquarters, orders and letters from, 199–208; British at, 229*n*.

Blaine, Ephraim, supplies for Delaware River defense, 423.

Blakslee (Hearsley), *Capt.* James, company regimented, 364.

Bland, *Col.* Theodorick, rank controversy, 29; marching orders, 114, 125; on cannon, 117; officer court-martialed, 133; letters to, 205, 433*n*; Brandywine, 205; charges against officer, 404; at court-martial, 472. *See also* Cavalry.

Blankets, need, collection, impressment, 229, 245*n*, 248, 259, 269, 275, 299, 318, 319, 324, 358, 415, 424; returns on needed, 343; issue, 364; lack of state supply, 487.

Blewer (Bruer), *Capt.* Joseph, Delaware River defense, 321, 328, 334, 357.

Blyford, William, soldier, 404.

Board of War, letters to, 18, 117, 204, 277, 323, 384, 414, 497; Delaware River defense, 53*n*; supplies, 299; reconstruction, outside members, 389*n*; and Conway, 390*n*.

Boats (galleys), Delaware River defense, galleys, fire rafts, 47–49, 51, 52, 256, 321, 356*n*, 495; army deserters, 64; in northeastern New Jersey, 67; removing before Burgoyne's advance, 79; in Schuylkill River movements, 221; collecting around Philadelphia, 256; building, for the Hudson, 372, 373; British fire rafts in the Delaware, 445. *See also* Navy (Delaware River defense).

Bogarts Tavern, Pa., 269.

Bohemia Manor, Del., militia rendezvous, 141; British at, 171, 172.

Bonds. *See* Security.

Bordentown, N. J., Continental Navy Board, 436, 445, 447.

Boston, Navy Board, 415. *See also* Eastern department.

Boston Public Library, material from, 417*n*.

Boudinot, Elias, commissary of prisoners of war, returns on prisoners, 180; service, 423*n*.

Bounty, jumping, trials, 64, 88, 89, 121; proposed additional continental, 481; militia substitutes, 481, 486.

Bower (Bauer), *Capt.* Jacob, company, 168.

Boyd, John, paymaster, resigns, 168.

Bradford, *Lieut.* James, court-martial, 191; service, 191*n*.

Bradford, *Col.* William, *jr.*, on Delaware River defense, letter, 356*n*.

Bradley, *Col.* Philip Burr, regiment brigaded, 380; trial of Wayne, 421, 491.

Branding. *See* Marks.

Brandywine Creek, militia guard of fords, 149; battle: exhortation before, 181; bridges and roads, 190; movements to, 197–199, 201,

203; intelligence of British movements, 205; Chads Ford, 206, 207; British flank movement, American retreat, 207, 208, 220, 272, 426, 450; commendation of troops, 211; casualties, 211 *n*, 241; Sullivan's conduct, inquiry, 216, 227–229, 241, 242, 253, 425, 426; wounded in British hands, 217.

Brannon, Timothy, court-martial, 29.

Braxton, Carter, arbitration, 281.

Bread, hard, required, 135, 139, 148; warning to commissary, 177; forwarding, ovens, 185, 186. *See also* Flour; Ludowick, Christopher; Provisions.

Brearley, *Lieut. Col.* David, to arrange ranking, 461.

Brent, *Capt.* John, court-martial, 31; service, 31 *n*.

Brevets, Washington on, 194.

Bridges, Brandywine, 190; Schuylkill, 220, 224.

Brigade majors, trouble with commander, 7, 44, 65; and courts-martial, 90; appointments, acting, 97, 120, 144, 297, 304 *n*, 305, 313, 354, 369, 439, 461; admonished, 121; special duties, 297.

Brigades, arrangement, 103, 353, 380; baggage wagons, 140; parade for returns, 285; courts-martial, 402, 492.

Brigadier generals, McIntosh, 25; council on liquor prices, 119; Pulaski, 244; shortage, 321; certification of pay abstracts, 434. *See also* Councils of war; Officers.

Bristol, Pa., stores, fear of British raid, 270.

British army, reenforcements, 289, 293, 326, 349. *See also* Burgoyne campaign, Hudson River; Mercenaries; Newport; Philadelphia campaign; Prisoners of war.

Brodhead, *Col.* Daniel, complaint, 175; at court-martial, 329, 403, 435, 438, 470.

Brooks, Adam, court-martial, 29.

Brown, Daniel, pardon, 44.

Brown, *Col.* John, Ticonderoga, 276.

Brown, *Corp.* Lawrence, court-martial, 99.

Brumbler, John, court-martial, 122.

Buchanan, William, commissary general of purchases, letter to, 105; cattle, 488.

Buck Tavern. *See* Sign of the Buck.

Buckmer, *Cornet* ——, escort for Hancock, 495.

Bucks County, Pa., impressment of clothing, 269; militia after Germantown, 317. *See also* Neshaminy Camp.

Buckshot for cartridges, 313.

Burgoyne, *Gen.* John, on harassment by militia, letter, 76*n*; reported wounding, 276. *See also* next title.

Burgoyne campaign, Washington and selection of American commander, 8, 9; Gates, 9*n*, 11, 34, 61, 102*n*; militia, call, urge, response, 9, 13, 16, 34, 60, 61, 76, 78, 102, 111, 112, 115, 182, 197, 453; Ticonderoga, 12, 22, 23, 34, 38, 41, 106; necessity of American harmony, 12; American conditions, spirit, expectations, 12, 16, 22, 35, 60, 77, 131*n*, 229, 285, 294, 298, 300, 303, 305, 373, 382, 384, 451, 453; Arnold and Lincoln sent, expected effect, 13; Washington and aid, 13, 14, 16; British strength, decrease by posts, 14, 77; American retirement, positions, 16, 34; American line reenforcement, Morgan's corps, 35, 55, 60, 70, 71, 78, 82, 102, 264; Fort Stanwix, 75, 101, 103, 106, 131*n*, 151, 154, 157, 162, 165, 174–176; Indians, 75, 102, 102*n*; Burgoyne on harassment by militia, 76*n*; proper American tactics, British rear, 77, 102, 453; Governor Clinton and the front, 78; removing boats, 79; question of Washington's movement to, command then, 108, 109, *facing* 128; Bennington, 115, 122, 131*n*, 132, 133, 174; Freemans Farm, situation after, 263*n*, 265*n*, 273, 276, 285, 287, 305; American success in lake region, 276, 287, 322; flour for American army, 335, 337; Bemis Heights, 371, 372, 377, 382; surrender, premature news, general orders on, celebration, delay in information, 387, 390–393, 399, 400, 402, 413, 417, 424, 428, 429, 440, 443, 465, 484; British prisoners and casualties, 454, 455; Convention troops, 463. *See also* Hudson River.

Burke, Thomas, on Sullivan at Brandywine, 228*n*.

Burnett, Edmund C., *Letters of Continental Congress,* 9*n*.

Bush, Md. *See* Harford Town.

Butler, *Lieut. Col.* Richard, to adjudge claims, 94.

Butler, Thomas, chief armorer, 20; letter to, 400*n*; movements, 400*n*.

Byrd, *Lieut. Col.* Francis Otway, court-martial, 404; resigns, 404*n*.

Byrne, James, court-martial, 122.

Cadwalader, John, militia, Philadelphia campaign, 136, 142, 153, 175; letter to, 142; councils of war, 263*n*, 279*n*.

Cainking, Daniel, court-martial, 99.

Calderwood, *Capt.* James, company regimented, 364; death, 364*n*.

Camp colormen, on march, 80; hygiene and sanitation, 189, 298, 498.

Campaign of 1777. *See* Burgoyne campaign; Hudson River; Philadelphia campaign; Staten Island.

Campbell, *Lieut. Col.* Archibald, question of exchange, 38.

Campbell, *Gen.* Mungo, killed, 401*n*.

Campbell, *Capt.* Richard, promotion, 285; service, 285*n*.

Canadian campaign, prisoners of war, parole, exchange, 24.
Canadians, number with Burgoyne, 454.
Canisters, use and misuse, 252, 305, 404; distribution, 363; returns, 378.
Cannon, for Delaware River defense, removal of unneeded, 117, 472; from enemy, 448, 454; conservation, 473. *See also* Artillery.
Capital punishment. *See* Punishment.
Carlisle, Pa., guard for magazine, 74.
Carriages, Washington's phaeton at Philadelphia, 232.
Carroll, Charles, of Carrollton, committee at camp, 259.
Carsons Tavern, Del., 173.
Carter, Landon, letter to, 451.
Cartouche boxes, supply, lack, 363, 366; proper construction, 366, 415, 497.
Cartridges, supply, making, 141*n*, 227, 236, 240, 251, 275, 311, 363, 379, 390; size, 141*n*; issue, 144, 212, 363; canisters and cartouche boxes, 252, 305, 363, 366, 378, 404, 415, 497; buckshot, 313; returns, 349; horn boxes, 361, 363.
Cary, *Miss* ——, expected marriage, 93.
Casson, *Ensign* Charles, court-martial, cashiered, 359.
Casualties, Bennington, 123, 454; Staten Island, 133; Philadelphia campaign before Brandywine, 152, 187, 195; Brandywine, 206, 208, 211*n*, 241; wounded in British hands, care, 217, 244; Freemans Farm, 276; Germantown, 311, 319, 327, 328, 330, 337, 343, 355, 357*n*, 374, 398; property of wounded, 368; Bemis Heights, 377; Hudson River, 401*n*; Fort Mercer, 422*n*, 430, 435, 443, 450; Burgoyne's army, 454, 455.
Cattle, removing before Howe's advance, 130, 150, 153; slaughtering regulations, 189; collection, seizing loyalist, 318, 469; purchase agents, 487.
Cavalry, court-martial of troopers and officer, 29, 98–100, 124, 267, 379, 404, 472; search for stragglers, 36; forage in camp, 36; officers' pay, 68, 69, 81; status of horses, 74; transfer to foot service as punishment, 99, 100; Philadelphia campaign, in march and camp, 114, 125, 129, 133, 134, 193, 200, 214*n*, 225*n*, 226*n*, 311, 379, 493; Pulaski chief, 143, 144, 244; deserter, 156; recruits, ordered to camp, 195*n*; provost dragoons, 304*n*; pickets, 353; impressing horses, abuse, 358, 432, 433; needed swords, 421; circular letter to commanders, 432; equipment returns, 498. *See also* Baylor, George; Bland, Theodoric; Moylan, Stephen; Sheldon, Elisha.
Cecil Court House (Charlestown), Md., British at, 173, 185, 186.
Cerris, —— de, foreign volunteer, 85.

Chads Ford, Pa., American position, 198; headquarters, letters from, 201–207. *See also* Brandywine.

Chandler, *Col.* John, regiment brigaded, 380.

Channing, Edward, *United States,* 14*n*.

Charleston, S. C., as Howe's possible objective, 102, 107, 110*n*, 111, 112.

Charlestown, Md. *See* Cecil Court House.

Chase, Samuel, committee on Burgoyne campaign, 83*n*; letters to 84*n*, 137; committee to camp, 259.

Chesapeake Bay, British fleet in, 106, 111, 113, 115, 116.

Chester, Pa., headquarters, letters and orders from, 1–5, 130, 132, 207–210; militia rendezvous, 132; British advance, 219.

Chester County, Pa., impressment of supplies, 357.

Chester Springs, Pa., *See* Yellow Springs.

Chestnut Hill, Pa., British at, 268, 270.

Chevaux-de-frise. *See* Obstructions.

Christiana Bridge, Del., American troops at, 138, 230; possible British movement, 171–173.

Church. *See* Religion.

Circular letter, to states, 10.

City Tavern, Philadelphia, 8.

Claims. *See* Accounts.

Claise, Adam, court-martial, 122.

Clark, *Sir* Francis Carr, captured, 377.

Clark, *Maj.* John, letter to, 418; intelligence, 418.

Clark, *Capt.* Jonathan, court-martial, 31; service, 31*n*.

Clark, *Col.* Thomas, at court of inquiry, 347; service, 347*n*.

Clinton, *Gov.* George, militia and Howe's possible Hudson River movement, 1, 5; letters to, 5, 11*n*, 60, 75, 240, 372, 429; Washington on governorship, 15; letter from, 75; and presence with Northern army, 78; Hudson River defense, command, 56, 60, 325*n*, 350, 365, 372, 401*n*, 463, 482; on Burgoyne's surrender, letter, 393.

Clinton, *Sir* Henry, and cooperation with Burgoyne, Hudson River advance, 55, 67, 115, 290, 316, 323, 325*n*, 326, 337, 339, 349, 355, 364, 371–374, 400*n*, 401, 417, 429, 440, 451; Putnam's spy letter to, 56*n*; possible New Jersey movement, 201, 203, 218, 219, 221, 223, 231, 234, 290; Hudson River retirement, 463, 464, 468, 471, 482, 483.

Clothier general. *See* Mease, James.

Clothing, washing during halt, 10; council of war on, 38*n*; issue, after battle, 212, 227, 251, 364; lack of essential, 229, 365, 390, 398, 487;

impressment, 249, 269, 270, 318, 319, 324, 358, 375, 489; magazine, 324; soldiers disposing of, 363; importation, 416; and winter campaign, 480, 483; state supply through assessment, 487; for Delaware River defense, 489, 490; for recruits, 497. *See also* Blankets; Mease, James; Shoes; Uniforms.

Clove. *See* Smiths Clove.

Clutter, Peter, court-martial, 303.

Clymer, Daniel, deputy commissary of prisoners of war, and Hessian captives, 423; letter to, 448.

Clymer, George, letter to, 112*n*.

Coates, *Dr.* John(?), and captured wounded, 217.

Cochran, *Dr.* John, sick for general hospital, 404.

Commander in chief, and commander for Northern department, 8, 9; and recalled officers of Northern army, 39; private account, 65; frequent despatches to Congress, 208*n*; proposed medal, 351*n*; personal risk, 451. *See also* next title; Addresses; Continental army; Dictatorial powers; General orders; Headquarters; Military science; Proclamations.

Commander in Chief's Guard, horse, 193*n*.

Commerce, military imports, 415, 416. *See also* Profiteering; Sutlers.

Commissary, inefficiency, warning, 134, 204, 336. *See also* next titles; Arms; Clothing; Equipments; Magazines; Provisions; Quartermaster department.

Commissary general of forage. *See* Biddle, Clement; Forage.

Commissary general of issues. *See* Stewart, Charles.

Commissary general of purchases, deputy, 101*n*, 289*n*. *See also* Buchanan, William.

Commissary of hides, 68*n*, 73.

Commissary of military stores, returns, 19, 20.

Commissary of prisoners of war. *See* Boudinot, Elias.

Commissioners at Paris, despatches, 17. *See also* Deane, Silas; Franklin, Benjamin.

Commissions, blank, 118.

Committee of intelligence, letter to, 174.

Committee (council) of safety, New York, 12.

Communication. *See* Intelligence; Intercourse with the enemy.

Concordville, Pa., hospital for sick, 193; British at, 231.

Connecticut, and Howe's possible movement, 2, 9; militia for Burgoyne campaign, 9, 197; militia for the Hudson, 60, 91, 92, 197, 219, 290, 296, 336, 365, 371, 372; state recruiters, 407; cattle for the army, 487. *See also* next titles; New England.

Connecticut, governor of. *See* Trumbull, Jonathan.

Connecticut Eighth Regiment. *See* Chandler, John.

Connecticut Fifth Regiment. *See* Bradley, Philip Burr.

Connecticut First Regiment. *See* Prentiss, Samuel.

Connecticut Fourth Regiment. *See* Durkee, John.

Connecticut Seventh Regiment. *See* Swift, Heman.

Connecticut Sixth Regiment. *See* Meigs, Return Jonathan.

Continental army, unnecessary horses, 104; independent companies, 233; and local defense, 294. *See also* Artificers; Artillery; Boats; Brigades; Campaign of 1777; Cavalry; Crimes; Divisions; Drill; Encampments; Fortifications; Funds; Furloughs; General orders; Guards; Health; Indians; Invalid corps; Light infantry; March; Military departments; Military science; Militia; Music; Officers; Parade; Prisoners of war; Quarters; Recruiting; Regiments; Returns; Review; Rewards; Scouting; Signals; Staff; Volunteers; Women.

Continental Congress, Northern department, commander, 8, 9, 9*n*, 11, 61; recruiting, 10*n*, 407*n*; *Journals*, 11*n*; Ticonderoga, 26, 38; corps of invalids, 28; officers' ration issue, 38*n*; Delaware River defenses, 53*n*, 215*n*; Papers, 75*n*; Burgoyne campaign, 82*n*, 113; Lafayette, 95*n*, 96*n*; Philadelphia campaign, 118*n*, 119, 128; Washington's general command, *facing* 128; Staten Island, 173*n*; thanks and presentations, 157*n*, 301*n*, 326*n*; committee of intelligence, 174; defense of New Jersey, 201, 203; frequent despatches from headquarters, 208*n*; rum for troops after Brandywine, 212; dictatorial powers for Washington, 237*n*; removal to York, 257*n*; Germantown, 351*n*, 352, 354; proposed medal for Washington, 351*n*; loyalist aid of British, 352*n*; British treatment of prisoners of war, 382*n*; frigates in upper Delaware River, 448*n*. *See also* Board of War; Commissioners at Paris; President; Secret committee; Secretary.

Continental Navy Board, at Boston, ammunition, 287*n*, 415; at Bordentown, letters to, frigates, 436, 445, 447.

Convention troops, number, 454.

Conway, *Gen.* Thomas, aide, 7*n*, 292*n*; and Armand's corps, 100; councils of war, 110*n*, 263*n*, 279, 464*n*; division command, 149; brigade major, 305, 313; Germantown, 307, 309; brigade, 353; Washington's opposition to promotion, 387–389; inspector general, 390*n*; trial of Wayne, 421, 491.

Cooke, *Gov.* Nicholas, letters to, 11*n*, 128*n*.

Coopers Ferry, Delaware River, 407.

Corden (Cosden, Cozden), *Capt.* Jesse, bears letter, 103; service, 103*n*.

Cornell, Ezekiel, proposed line regiment, 194; service, 194*n*.

Coryells Ferry, American army crossing, 114, 116, 123, 240, 246, 253; army bread, 185.

Cosden, Jesse. *See* Corden.

Couchs Mill, Del., British at, 173.

Council of safety. *See* Committee of safety.

Councils of war, pay abstracts, 27; soap, 32, 38*n*; officers' ration issue, 38; rank arrangement, 65, 90; movements if Howe has gone to South, 108–110; pickets, 189; British march on Philadelphia, 258, 261–263; Germantown attack, 277–279, 284, 308; situation and plans (end of October), 441, 442, 461–464, 478; Hudson River, 468*n*.

Countersigns, significant, 157, 251, 377.

Courts, *Lieut.* William, court-martial, 403.

Courts-martial, general: by division commander, improper, authorized, 7; detail, orders, 17, 18, 29, 119, 124, 145, 149, 168, 266, 275, 304, 329, 342, 379, 412; of rank and file, 29, 30, 88, 89, 99, 100, 120–122, 167, 168, 170, 267, 268, 303, 439, 476*n*; of dragoons, 29, 98–100, 124, 267, 379, 404, 472; of officers, 30–32, 65, 88, 89, 100, 101, 120, 133, 149, 191, 297, 303, 304, 359, 360, 403, 404, 435, 438, 439, 470, 472; attendance, 90; of staff, 99, 101, 120, 304; of loyalist recruiter, 149, 158, 160; artillery, 167, 168, 170, 439; authority over civilians aiding British, 352*n*; brigade, 402, 492; Wayne, 421, 491; Maxwell, 438, 470; Stephen, 493.

Courts of inquiry, pay abstracts, 27; Staten Island, 172, 228*n*, 347, 367; Brandywine, 227*n*, 228; Paoli, 352, 361; Maxwell, 379, 438; Stephen, 436.

Cowardice, admonition, 188, 189; summary execution, 227; officers, 303, 329, 403, 404, 438, 439, 470; and promotion, 348.

Cozden, Jesse. *See* Corden.

Craig, *Dr.* ——, Reading hospital, 368.

Craig, *Lieut.* John, letters to, 68, 81; pay or resignation, 68, 69, 81, 82.

Craig, *Lieut.* Robert, court-martial, 297.

Crain, *Lieut.* James, court-martial, 439; service, 439*n*.

Crane, *Lieut.* Ambrose, court-martial, cashiered, 100.

Crawford, *Col.* William, militia brigade, 353; horns as cartridge boxes, 363; brigade major, 369.

Crimes and misdemeanors, false arrest and evidence by officer, 120; permitting escape of prisoner, 120. *See also* Absence; Abuse; Assault; Bounty (jumping); Courts-martial; Courts of inquiry; Cowardice; Depredations; Desertion; Discipline; Disobedience; Guards (sleeping); Liquor; Mutiny; Pardon; Provost; Punishment; Theft.

Crossroads, Pa. *See* Neshaminy Camp.

Crump, *Capt.* Abner, court-martial, 120; dismissed, 120*n*.

Crump, *Capt.* Goodrich, court-martial, cashiered, 403.

Culley, Hugh, court-martial, 120.

Culpeper County, Va., militia for Philadelphia campaign, 353.

Custis, John Parke, letter to, 280; lease of mother's dower estate, 280–282.

Davies, *Lieut. Col.* William, trial of Wayne, 421, 491.

Dawes, *Maj.* Thomas, provisions for workmen, 23.

Dawesfield, Pa., headquarters, 495*n*.

Dayton, *Col.* Elias, letters to, 4, 9, 26, 66, 117; Philadelphia campaign movements, 4, 9, 26, 114, 117; intelligence, 66, 67; trial of Wayne, 421, 491; officers of regiment, 439; and condition of New Jersey line troops, 486.

Deane, Silas, letter to, 61; Washington's caution on foreign volunteers, 61–63; Lafayette, 96*n*; Pulaski, 112.

De Haas, *Gen.* John Philip, declines, 25, 138.

De Hart, *Lieut. Col.* William, trial of Wayne, 421, 491.

Delaware, militia for Philadelphia campaign, 132, 137, 138, 184, 195*n*, 202, 210; taverns, 168, 173; situation, militia to attack Wilmington, 346. *See also* next titles.

Delaware, U. S. S., captured, 293, 299, 299*n*, 437; British use, 445.

Delaware, president of. *See* McKean, Thomas; McKinly, John.

Delaware Bay, Howe's fleet, 1, 2.

Delaware River, transportation of troops, 8; Washington visits works of lower, 18; his recommendation on defenses, 46–53; reconnaissance and mapping lower region, 53; Fort Mifflin (Fort Island, Mud Island) and Fort Mercer (Red Bank), obstructions, naval force, construction, 56, 59, 69, 117, 128, 215, 216; militia for defense, 56, 59, 110, 216, 283, 284, 321, 350, 371*n*, 376, 386, 402, 411, 413, 418–420, 431, 443–445, 456, 457, 462, 469, 473, 476, 485, 486; Billingsport, abandoned, British at, 59, 283, 284, 321, 331*n*, 332, 350; ferries, army crossings, 114, 116, 123, 240, 253, 260, 407; temporary naval garrison of Fort Mifflin, 285; land and naval cooperation, conduct, need of harmony, 256, 283, 321, 327, 328, 357, 359, 370, 394, 409–411, 459, 460, 489; line garrisons, reenforcements, commanders, instructions, 256, 259–261, 283, 284, 292, 321, 326, 328, 333–335, 343, 345, 350, 380–382, 392–396, 406, 416, 455–461, 465, 469, 477; ammunition, provisions, clothing, 283, 293, 369, 371*n*, 393, 427, 433, 434, 460, 489, 490; importance of defense, 284, 328, 375, 376, 381, 386, 399, 401, 411, 420, 431, 436, 444, 446, 453, 467; naval attack on British at Philadelphia, 293, 299, 300; naval

defense of obstructions, 321, 350, 351, 356, 364, 369, 372; American strength, 321, 462; British on Province Island, protection of Fort Mifflin rear, 356–359, 373, 375, 392, 396, 400, 407, 459, 488, 489*n*, 490, 494–496; naval reenforcement from army, 369–371, 381, 400, 434, 436, 447, 448, 452, 460, 461, 469, 477; land attack on Fort Mercer, naval attack on Fort Mifflin, repulse, 407, 411, 413, 417–420, 422–425, 428–430, 440, 443, 450, 452, 462; commendation of repulse, general orders, 433, 435; American frigates in upper, disposal, 437, 445–448; British plans for rear naval attack, 445, 446; artillery spoils from British, 448; removal of unneeded heavy ordnance, 472.

Depredations, American troops, appeals and warning, 24, 37, 139, 162, 166, 167, 178, 243, 268; by officers, 88, 191; by unnecessary horses, 104; British, in Philadelphia campaign, 152, 160, 289; fences, 199, 297; Washington's comment to Howe, 314; British, on the Hudson, 429, 451, 482.

Derby, Pa., headquarters, orders and letter from, 129, 210; troops at, 132.

Desertion, apprehension, state agents, 10*n*, 23; trials, penalties, 29, 99, 100, 120–122, 167, 168, 170, 267, 303, 329, 439; pardon, proclamation, 30, 166, 406, 426, 427, 496; list, search, 64, 176; British, in Philadelphia campaign, intelligence from, pay, 44, 92, 143, 155, 165, 188; dragoons, 156; substitutes forbidden, 165; prevalence, vice, 165, 362; state attention, 406, 412; naval, 370, 423*n*; reward to soldiers for apprehension, 442, 442*n*, 492; number from Burgoyne, 454; militia, 497. *See also* Absence without leave; Bounty (jumping).

Dickinson, *Sergt.* John, court-martial, reduced, 167.

Dickinson, *Gen.* Philemon, militia for Philadelphia campaign, 131, 136, 196, 246, 258, 261, 263*n*, 268, 269; letters to, 136, 223, 246, 291, 419, 468; defense of New Jersey, 218, 221, 225, 231, 236; information on British, 293, 316, 320, 339, 464, 468; militia for Delaware River defense, 419, 462, 464, 468, 476.

Dictatorial powers to Washington, renewal, 237; and impressment, 270, 274.

Dilworth, James, court-martial, 267.

Dilworth Town, Pa., British at, 229.

Discipline, influence of urban environment, 46. *See also* Cowardice; Crimes; Disobedience; Morals.

Disobedience to orders and neglect of duty, by officers, trials, 30–32, 120, 133, 297, 304, 360, 404, 438, 439, 472; general orders on, 31, 121.

Divisions, Wayne's, 114; march signals, 297; arrangement, command, 380.

Dixon, *Capt.* Henry, promotion, 359.

Dongan, *Lieut.* Garret, militia, 317.
Donnelly, John, court-martial, 167.
Donop, *Col.* Carl Emil Kurt von, Fort Mercer assault, mortally wounded, captured, 422*n*, 423, 428–430, 435, 440, 452.
Donoworth, ——, and Troup, 160.
Dorsey, *Capt.* Eli, parole and pay, 67.
Dorsey, *Lieut.* Richard, letters to, 68, 81; pay or resignation, 68, 69, 81, 82.
Dorsey, *Capt.* Thomas, troop, 99.
Douglas, Ephraim, question of exchange, 429; service, 429*n*.
Draft from militia, inadequate use, 367; advised, 386, 487.
Dragoons. *See* Cavalry.
Drill, attention to, essentials, 361, 391; proposed manual, 442, 442*n*.
Drums, march signals, 79, 80.
Du Bouchet, Denis J. F. Langlois, *marquis,* sent to Northern army, 33; service, 33*n*.
Duché, *Rev.* Jacob, on reconciliation, letter, 382.
Du Coudray, Philippe C. J. B. Tronson, Delaware River works, 52, 53, 56, 59, 69, 110, 117, 215; Philadelphia works, 203.
Duer, William, committee on Burgoyne campaign, 83*n*; Lafayette, 96*n*.
Du Motier. *See* Lafayette.
Dunks Ferry, Delaware River, 260.
Dunwoodie, ——, intelligence, 419.
Du Plessis. *See* Mauduit.
Du Portail, Louis le Bèque (*chevalier* Derford), horses and servants, 83; Schuylkill River works, 220, 221; letter to, 220*n*; letter from, 350; rank, 497, 498.
Durkee, *Col.* John, regiment brigaded, 380; officer court-martialed, 438.

Eastern department, line troops to Washington, 219, 287. *See also* Heath, William.
Easton, Pa., magazine, 292.
Edge, Jacob, mill, 307.
Elkton, Md. *See* Head of Elk.
Elliott, *Lieut. Col.* Thomas, command, 100, 166; resigns, 100*n*.
Emory, Richard, acting brigade major, 369.
Encampments, marking sites on march, pioneers, 80, 169, 179; works, 305; dragoons, 379; road making, 493. *See also* Police.
Engineers, foreign, use, 138, 325; camp layout, 169.

Equipments, Virginia recruits, 166; returns on needed, 341; greasing pouches, 341; inspection, 353, 363; lack, militia, 350, 362; soldiers disposing of, 363; securing, of wounded, 368; dragoon returns, 498. *See also* Arms; Baggage; Commissary.

Erskine, Robert, 160.

Erskine, *Sir* William, wounded, 319*n*, 327, 330, 331.

Evans, *Col.* George, letter to, 138; militia, Philadelphia campaign, 138, 140; as guide, 233.

Fairfax, Bryan, pass to New York City, 298*n*.

Fairfax, Thomas, pass to New York City, 298*n*.

Fairfax, Thomas, letter possessed by, 298*n*.

Fairfax County, Va., militia at Philadelphia campaign, 223.

Fant, George, court-martial, 30.

Farndon, John, court-martial, execution, postponed, 267, 329, 341, 342.

Farrell, Moses, court-martial, 89.

Fatigue parties, activity, 169; and advance, 180.

Fatland Ford, Schuylkill River, American and British movements, 238, 257, 262; letters from, 241–244.

Faulkner, *Capt.* William(?), information, 263, 264.

Fawkes, Francis, court-martial, 99.

Fences, destruction forbidden, 199, 297.

Fennel, Daniel, court-martial, 170.

Ferguson, Elizabeth, letter to, 296; Duché letter, 382, 383.

Ferguson, Henry Hugh, refugee, question of temporary return, 296.

Ferries, Delaware River, crossing by American troops, 114, 116, 123, 240, 253, 260, 407; Webbs, 356*n*.

Ferris, *Lieut.* Nathaniel, court-martial, cashiered, 435.

Finances. *See* Accounts; Funds; Money.

Fines, soldier, 170.

Fire rafts. *See* Boats.

First Dragoons. *See* Bland, Theodorick.

Fish, *Lieut.* Joseph, court-martial, 435.

Fisher, ——, plan to capture Hessian officer at house, 183, 184.

Fishkill, N. Y., magazine, 290; American retreat to, 400*n*.

Fitzgerald, *Lieut. Col.* John, letters written by, 24*n*, 26*n*, 37*n*, 45*n*, 57*n*, 82*n*, 103*n*, 112*n*, 114*n*, 131*n*, 221*n*, 224*n*, 232*n*, 235*n*, 245*n*, 253*n*, 256*n*, 337*n*, 381*n*, 384*n*, 395*n*, 416*n*, 460*n*, 464*n*, 469*n*, 488*n*, 490*n*; mission to Dickinson, 419.

Flag of truce, unauthorized use, 68; to British commanders, 182; firing on, by militia, 183.
Fleury, Lewis, brigade major, 305.
Flints, supply, 138.
Flour, for Northern army, 335, 337; for prisoners at New York, 337. *See also* Bread; Provisions.
Flour mills, American dismantling, Washington's reply to Howe's protest, 151, 314, 315*n*, 474, 475; British destruction on the Hudson, 482.
Flower, *Col.* Benjamin, commissary of military stores, returns, 20; flints, 138; letter to, 140*n*; supply of arms, 140*n*, 141*n*; removal of stores, 214.
Floyd, James, Greene's aide, 252.
Fly, U. S. S., river operations, 299*n*.
Fogg, John S. H., letter possessed by, 455*n*.
Forage, baggage teams, 33; dragoons in camp, 36; destruction, 359.
Ford, *Ensign* Denham, false charge against, 359; service, 359*n*.
Ford, Worthington C., material from edition, 16*n*, 266*n*, 455*n*; *Correspondence of S. B. Webb,* 440*n*.
Foreign relations. *See* Commerce; Commissioners at Paris; France.
Foreign volunteers, irregular military actions, 7; minor, 27, 33, 85, 93, 480; Washington's caution to commissioners at Paris, 61–63, 85–87; horses and servants, 83; Lafayette and command, 95, 96, 480; Pulaski, 112, 143, 144; engineers, 138, 325; Preudhomme de Borre's conduct and resignation, 216, 216*n*, 228; Conway's promotion, 387–389; Kalb, 387; rank, 497, 498.
Forkners Swamp, Pa., camp, 252.
Forman, *Gen.* (*Col.*) David, letters to, 268, 271, 282, 313, 383, 402, 411, 413, 431, 444, 457, 473, 489; militia in Philadelphia, 268, 270, 271, 278, 282, 284, 313, 320, 383, 402; line troops, 284, 485; Germantown, 307, 309; militia for Delaware River defense, 402, 407, 411, 431, 444, 456, 457, 462, 469, 473, 474, 476, 485; complaint against Newcomb, letters, 473, 485; impressment of clothing, 489.
Forrest, *Maj.* Thomas, court-martial, 360; service, 360*n*.
Fort Clinton, capture, 325*n*, 372; British repair, 400*n*; demolished, 468*n*, 482, 483.
Fort Constitution, destroyed by British, 400*n*.
Fort Edward, N. Y., evacuated, 16.
Fort Island (Fort Mifflin). *See* Delaware River.
Fort Mercer. *See* Delaware River.
Fort Mifflin. *See* Delaware River.

Fort Montgomery, importance, 5; garrison, command, 56, 60, 219; engineer for, 325, 339; capture, 325*n*, 364, 371, 372, 401; demolished, 400*n*, 468*n*, 482, 483.

Fort Pitt, conditions, 361, 362.

Fort Schuyler (Stanwix), Oriskany, 75, 101, 165; importance, 103; Arnold's expedition, relief, 103, 106, 131*n*, 151, 154, 162, 165, 175, 176; general orders on, 157, 174.

Fort Stanwix. *See* Fort Schuyler.

Fortifications, on Virginia rivers, 164; Wilmington, 180; Philadelphia, 203; at camp, 305. *See also* Delaware River; Fatigue; "Fort" titles; Tools.

Foster, William, court-martial, 29.

Fourth Artillery. *See* Procter, Thomas.

Fourth Dragoons. *See* Moylan, Stephen.

France, attitude, 18, 22. *See also* Foreign volunteers.

Franklin, Benjamin, letter to, 85; Washington's caution on foreign volunteers, 85–87; Pulaski, 112.

Franklin, Philip, court-martial, 99.

Franks, David, agent for prisoners of war, 482.

Fraser, *Gen.* Simon, killed, 377.

Frazer, *Lieut. Col.* Thomas, on cartel, 463.

Freehold, N. J., militia at, 402*n*.

Freemans Farm (Saratoga), news of battle, 273, 285, 287; general orders on, celebration, 276, 305.

French Creek, Pa., removal of stores, 214; British at, 246, 247.

Friesback, *Capt.* ——, court-martial, 30.

Fuel, ax men, no fences, 199, 286, 297.

Funds (military chest), specie, 65; Washington's private account, 65*n*; need, 92, 350, 352.

Furloughs, limitation, 91.

Futhay, ——, guide, 232.

Gaine, Hugh, *New York Gazette*, 300*n*.

Galleys. *See* Boats.

Gammon, William, court-martial, 30.

Gansevoort, *Col.* Goose, Fort Schuyler, 157, 162; thanks of Congress, 157*n*.

Gantlet, running, as military punishment, 170.

Gates, *Gen.* Horatio, Washington and Northern army command, 8, 9; appointment, 9*n*, 11, 34, 61; letters to, 11, 27, 33, 102, 154, 264, 465; and irregular recruiting, 64; movements, 102; on state of Northern army, letter, 102*n*; prospects, 229; and troops for Washington, letter, 264, 265*n*; troops to the Hudson, 371, 463; delay in informing Washington of surrender, rebuke, letter, 440, 465, 466*n*; Hamilton's mission, 466–468, 478. *See also* Burgoyne campaign; Northern army.

General orders, familiarity, 268; importance of execution, 347.—(*Roxborough: 1777, August*): women, court-martial, 17; court-martial, 18; pay abstracts, muster, restricted liberty, baggage, invalid corps, court-martial, 27; court-martial discipline, officers and care of arms, vinegar, soap, heavy baggage, review, 29; fog and parade, new camp, stragglers, 35; (*Neshaminy Camp*): guards, headquarters' dinners, absent officers, march and transportation, bounty jumpers and deserters, 63; rank adjustment, 65; drum signals, 79; court-martial, attendance, rank adjustment, absent officers, straw, rum, 88; court-martial, appointments, 98; Armand's corps, court-martial, officers' ration accounts, 100; march orders, countermand, 114; sutlers' prices, courts-martial, officers' neglect of duty, rank and position of wagonmasters, Bennington, march orders, 119; (*Stenton*): straggling, march orders through Philadelphia, 124; (*Derby*): march orders, 129; (*Wilmington*): court martial, dragoons, 133; arms and ammunition, emergent provisions, 134; emergent provisions, baggage, sick, women, superfluous horses, march orders, rum, 139; brigade major, cartridges, march orders, court-martial, light infantry, 144; arms chests, 145; bread, light infantry command, division command, paymaster, 148; muster, court-martial, Brandywine fords, 149; (*September*): quartermaster, guards, Fort Schuyler, 157; detail to repair arms, court martial, deputy adjutant general, 167; paymaster, straggling, alarm signal, camp, guard at fort, arms and ammunition, detail, fatigue, court-martial, alert, 168; bread, sick discharge, appeal against depredations, advance, camp, baggage, 177; returns on prisoners, baggage wagons, exhortation, 180; admonition on cowardice, suspicious characters, pickets, aides, slaughtering, wagon horses, alert, tattoo discontinued, 188; (*Newport*): court-martial, expected British advance, stripping for action, emergent provisions, preparations, sick, 190; (*Birmingham*): British advance, rum, pickets, 199; fences, baggage, emergent provisions, dragoons, firing in camp, pickets, 199; (*Chester, after Brandywine*): stragglers, march orders, rum, sick, wounded, casualty returns, arms and ammunitions, 209; (*Roxborough*): commendation, rum, stragglers, wagons, clothing, tents, march

regulations and orders, provisions, 211; march orders, 225; (*Warren Tavern*): pickets, cartridges, provisions, clothing, formation for action, cowardice, light infantry, 226; (*Yellow Springs*): stragglers, arms and ammunition, 234; (*Fatland Ford*): straggling and depredations, daily rolls, unnecessary baggage guards, soldier servants, preparedness to move, 243; Pulaski, stragglers, provisions, 244; (*Potts Grove*): clothing, shoes, march orders, 251; returns, cartridges, provisions, canisters, aide, sick, 251; court-martial, baggage, returns, 266; march orders, court-martial, orderly books, depredations, 267; (*Pennypackers Mill*): court-martial, church, orderly sergeants, cartridge making, 275; Freemans Farm, spare ammunition, 276; march orders, appointments, brigade returns, absent officers, 285; (*Skippack*): medicine chests, ax men, 286; (*October*): court-martial, field-officer assignments and absence, brigade major, aide, axes, fences, march orders, police of camp, militia representatives at headquarters, baggage-wagon returns, stragglers, 296; (*Worcester*): court-martial, brigade majors, canisters, exhortation before Germantown, muster, 303; march and battle orders, 307; (*Pennypackers Mill, after Germantown*): cartridges, arms, dragoons, casualty returns, Germantown, 311; sentenced men, Virginia militia, dragoon returns, appointments, daily returns, buckshot, 312; Virginia state regiment, execution, church, court-martial, march orders, 329; needed arms, Virginia militia, greasing pouches, moccasins, execution, 341; (*Towamencin*): court-martial, tent allowance, funeral of Nash, execution, absence, field returns, returned missing, 342; Staten Island inquiry, provisions, execution of orders, arms and ammunition, promotion as reward, cartridge returns, 347; Paoli inquiry, arms and ammunition, brigading Virginia militia, horse pickets, diverted companies of additional regiments, Congress on Germantown, brigade major, discharging arms, 352; promotions, court-martial, guards, drill, Paoli inquiry, paper, horn cartridge boxes, 359; field rolls, arms and ammunition, soldiers disposing of equipments, horn boxes, diverted companies, distribution of clothing, 362; guard reports, equipments of wounded, brigade majors, 368; Bemis Heights, example, celebration, discharging arms, march orders, returns on seamen, canister returns, absent officers, Maxwell inquiry, court-martial, 377; (*Worcester*): dragoon camp, cartridge making, Staten Island inquiry, brigades and division, 379; cartridges, parade, 390; surrender of Burgoyne, drill, 390; courts-martial, sick returns, march orders, 402; (*Whitpain*): march orders, 405; court-martial, 412; emergent provisions, 412; wagon returns, 420; regulations on impressing horses, horse returns, Wayne's trial, dragoon swords, expedition against British supply line, 420; pay-abstract certifications, weekly returns, court-martial,

Delaware River success, Stephen inquiry, 434; Maxwell inquiry and trial, court-martial, brigade major, respite, 438; major generals, regiment rank arrangement, brigade major, 460; seamen for Delaware River defense, ammunition, 461; arms and ammunition, seamen, respite, discharging arms, stock, sick, regimental surgeons, court-martial, Maxwell trial, 469; aides, quartermaster department returns, court-martial, regimental promotions, 471; (*November*): sutlers and liquor, Wayne trial, brigade courts-martial, reward for deserters, pardon, march orders, 491; (*White Marsh*): road making, straw, Stephen trial, 493; preparations to move, guides, privies, dragoon equipment returns, 498.

Georgetown, Kent Co., Md., militia rendezvous, 141, 147, 150.

Georgia Fourth Regiment. *See* White, John.

Germain, *Lord* George, letter to, 76*n*.

German Battalion, court-martial of soldier, 170.

Germantown, Pa., tavern, 29; exhortation before battle, 305; order of march and battle, 307, 308; plan of battle, 308, 331*n*; battle, causes of failure, 309–311, 316, 320, 327, 330, 331, 336, 337, 346, 347, 354, 374, 397, 452; casualties, 311, 319, 327, 337, 343, 355, 357*n*, 374, 398; general orders after, conduct, 312; plan after, 320; supposed British account, 323*n*; Congress on, 351*n*, 352, 354; British withdrawn, 400, 402, 407, 413, 417, 452; Stephen's conduct, 436. *See also* Roxborough.

Gerry, Elbridge, letters to, 270, 274; supplies for army, 270*n*, 275.

Gibbs, *Capt.* Caleb, letters written by, 25*n*, 58*n*, 138*n*, 166*n*, 176*n*, 177*n*, 185*n*, 265*n*, 273*n*, 285*n*, 375*n*, 437*n*, 442*n*.

Gibson, *Col.* George, letters to, 106, 247; Philadelphia campaign, 106, 112, 247, 260, 274, 275, 320, 325, 329.

Gibsons Ford, Brandywine Creek, 149.

Gill, John, letter to, 317.

Gist, *Col.* Mordecai, Maryland militia for Philadelphia campaign, 129, 136, 141, 142, 147, 149–151, 153, 174, 175, 210, 222, 228, 230, 238; letter to, 149.

Glassford, John, and Co., American factor, 104*n*.

Glover, *Gen.* John, commission, 146; brigade, return to the Hudson, 441; to Washington's army, 464, 468.

Goldsberry, Jeremiah, court-martial, 30.

Gordons Ford, Schuylkill River, British movement, 263.

Grant, *Gen.* James, reported wounding, 323*n*, 331, 337.

Gray, Conradt, tavern, 168.

Gray, *Lieut.* George, letters to, 68, 81; pay or resignation, 68, 69, 81, 82.

Grayson, *Col.* William, at court-martial, 412; letter written by, 484*n*.

Green, *Lieut. Col.* John, Delaware River defense, instructions, 392, 395, 396, 406, 458; letters to, 395, 458; service, 395*n*; question of command, 458.

Greene, *Col.* Christopher, regiment, Fort Mercer garrison, 326, 328, 333–335, 344, 345, 350, 357, 369, 370, 375, 381, 444; service, 326*n*; letters to, 333, 345, 370, 375, 392, 424, 444; men for the fleet, 370, 400, 434; regiment brigaded, 380; repulse of British attack, 422–425, 428–431, 440, 450, 452. *See also* Delaware River.

Greene, George W., *Nathanael Greene,* 208*n*.

Greene, *Gen.* Nathanael, letters to, 2, 3; Philadelphia campaign movements: before Brandywine, 2, 4, 123, 125, 129, 132, 140, 145, 153, 156, 179, 200; after Brandywine, 209, 226*n*, 231, 251, 267, 297; at Germantown and after, 307–311, 492; councils of war, 110*n*, 263*n*, 279, 464*n*; letter written by, 219*n*; aides, 252, 301*n*; Maxwell inquiry, 379, 438; movement on British supply line, 405, 408, 421; Stephen inquiry, 436.

Grenades, import, 194.

Greys Hill, Md., British at, 160.

Grimes, Frederick, court-martial, 99.

Guards during active campaign, baggage wagons, 33, 125, 126, 180, 243, 255; on march and in camp, 63, 157, 180; magazine, 74; sleeping at post, 89, 122, 170; pickets, dragoons, 189, 199, 200, 226, 297, 304, 353; proper performance, 360; reports, 368.

Guides, for Philadelphia region, 233, 498.

Hailey, Daniel, court-martial, 170.

Halbert, *Sergt.* Joseph, court-martial, 29.

Hamilton, *Lieut. Col.* Alexander, letters written by, 2*n*, 4*n*, 8*n*, 12*n*, 15*n*, 27*n*, 33*n*, 53*n*, 54*n*, 59*n*, 67*n*, 69*n*, 79*n*, 83*n*, 87*n*, 93*n*, 97*n*, 136*n*, 144*n*, 146*n*, 156*n*, 161*n*, 165*n*, 172*n*, 176*n*, 183*n*, 184*n*, 186*n*, 220*n*, 223*n*, 225*n*, 231*n*, 240*n*, 249*n*, 277*n*, 288*n*, 292*n*, 296*n*, 308*n*, 311*n*, 315*n*, 323*n*, 333*n*, 335*n*, 338*n*, 340*n*, 358*n*, 362*n*, 369*n*–371*n*, 376*n*, 383*n*, 394*n*, 396*n*, 411*n*, 412*n*, 414*n*, 417*n*, 426*n*, 433*n*, 442*n*, 457*n*, 458*n*, 464*n*; sent to Congress, 109, 239; letter to Smallwood, 210; to Philadelphia to impress blankets, instructions, 245, 248–250, 275; letters to, 248, 466; and removal of Congress, 257*n*; on defense of the Delaware, letter, 345*n*; mission to Gates, instructions, 465–468, 478.

Hammit, *Lieut.* John, and bounty jumper, 89; service, 89*n*.

Hampton, Va., proposed militia post, 163.

Hancock, John, on Germantown, letter, 351*n*; letters to, 413, 495; resignation, route home, escort, 413, 414, 495, 496. *See also* President of Congress.

Hand, *Gen.* Edward, letters to, 175, 361; complaint against, 175; Fort Pitt, 361, 362.

Harford Town (Bush), Md., militia rendezvous, 147.

Hargood, Henry, court-martial, capital penalty, pardon, 170.

Harness, proposed public making, 73.

Harrison, Benjamin, on Lafayette's commission, letter, 96*n*.

Harrison, *Capt.* Benjamin, company, 439; service, 439*n*.

Harrison, *Col.* Charles, regiment to join Washington's army, 332.

Harrison, *Lieut. Col.* Robert Hanson, letters written by, 2*n*, 3*n*, 10*n*, 11*n*, 26*n*, 34*n*–37*n*, 39*n*, 58*n*, 67*n*, 71*n*, 75*n*, 83*n*, 85*n*, 93*n*–95*n*, 105*n*, 106*n*, 109*n*, 113*n*, 116*n*, 128*n*, 129*n*, 131*n*, 133*n*, 136*n*, 143*n*, 146*n*–148*n*, 151*n*, 153*n*, 155*n*–157*n*, 165*n*, 173*n*, 175*n*, 177*n*, 196*n*, 198*n*, 202*n*, 204*n*, 207*n*, 211*n*, 214*n*, 216*n*, 217*n*, 223*n*, 224*n*, 230*n*, 232*n*, 234*n*, 237*n*, 239*n*, 245*n*, 247*n*, 252*n*, 254*n*, 257*n*, 265*n*, 269*n*, 270*n*, 274*n*, 279*n*, 280*n*, 288*n*, 289*n*, 293*n*, 294*n*, 299*n*, 301*n*, 311*n*, 315*n*, 316*n*, 323*n*, 332*n*, 344*n*, 352*n*, 355*n*, 374*n*, 383*n*, 395*n*, 401*n*, 408*n*, 410*n*, 418*n*, 419*n*, 427*n*, 430*n*, 443*n*, 447*n*, 449*n*, 466*n*, 484*n*, 496*n*; on Burgoyne campaign, letter, 131*n*; on supply of cartridges, letter, 141*n*; on cavalry movements, letter, 195*n*; on Brandywine movement, letter, 204*n*; order by, 344*n*; proposed for Board of War, 389*n*, 390*n*.

Hartley, *Col.* Thomas, soldier court-martialed, 267, 329; officers, 354.

Hartsville, Pa., Crossroads. *See* Neshaminy Camp.

Hatfield, *Maj.* Moses, service, 240*n*.

Hatfield, *Mrs.* Moses, pass, detention by British, 240.

Haverstraw, N. Y., American advance to, 468*n*.

Hay, *Col.* Ann Hawkes, on Clinton's Hudson advance, 323, 326, 337, 349, 355.

Hazelwood, *Com.* John, letters to, 255, 328, 358, 369, 399, 410, 433, 445, 460, 494; manning Delaware River forts, 255; naval defense of the Delaware, 299*n*, 283, 284, 328, 334, 358, 359, 368, 369, 381, 394, 396, 399, 409–411, 445, 494, 495; on actions, letters, 356*n*, 357, 422*n*, 423*n*; commended, 369, 433; and continental naval officers, 427; and harmony, 459, 460, 489. *See also* Delaware River.

Hazen, *Col.* Moses, regiment, 103.

Head of Bohemia, Del., militia rendezvous, 141; British at, 171.

Head of Elk, Md., British landing, 130–132; Washington's reconnaissance, 136, 451; removal and destruction of stores, 137, 146, 289, 317.

Head of Sassafras, Md., militia rendezvous, 141, 150, 176.

Headquarters, Chester, 1, 209; Philadelphia, 2, 5; Roxborough, near Germantown, 17, 25, 211; Neshaminy Camp, 45; tavern bill, 54*n*; dinners, 63; Stenton, 124; Derby, 129; Wilmington, 133; Newport, 190; Birmingham Meeting House, Chads Ford, 199, 201; Warren Tavern, 226; Yellow Springs, 230; Reading Furnace, 235; Fatland Ford, 241; Thompsons Tavern, 245; Pennypackers Mill, Perkiomen, Pawlins Mill, 274, 308, 311, 317; orderly sergeants, 275; Peter Wentz's, Worcester, 282*n*, 379; Towamencin, Wampole's, Skippack Camp, 286, 342, 343, 345; militia representatives and orders, 298; Whitpain, 406; White Marsh, 493.

Health, soap, 32. *See also* Bathing; Medical department; Police; Provisions; Sick; Smallpox.

Hearsley, *Capt.* James, company regimented, 364.

Heath, *Gen.* William, letters to, 23, 41, 58, 193, 219, 286, 330, 416; deserters, 23; control at Springfield, 58; line troops for Washington, 219, 287; excessive requisition of arms, 330; purchase of lead, 415, 417.

Hendricks, *Lieut. Col.* (*Col.*) James, command, 166; promotion, 285.

Hening, William W., *Statutes at Large,* 21*n*.

Henley, *Col.* David, commissions for officers, 194; to Washington's army, 287; excessive requisition of arms, 331.

Henry, *Gov.* Patrick, letters to, 11*n*, 301.

Henry, William, impressment warrant, 269*n*, 324.

Herkimer, *Gen.* Nicholas, Oriskany, 73, 165.

Heth, *Lieut. Col.* William, charges against Maxwell, 438; service, 438*n*.

Heyward, Thomas, committee on medal, 351*n*.

Hides, commissary, 68*n*, 73. See also Leather.

Higgins, *Lieut.* Robert, court-martial, 31; service, 31*n*.

Hill, *Col.* Henry, headquarters at house, 17.

Hill, *Capt.* Jeremiah, letter to, 288; desire to resign, 288.

Hilltop Township, Pa., camp, 318.

Hindman, ——, bears letter, 136.

Historical Magazine, material from, 112*n*.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania, material from, 143*n*, 235, 236, 252, 442*n*, 449, 451.

Hitchcock, Lyman, acting brigade major, 369.

Hollingsworth, *Col.* Henry, letter to, 316; British at Wilmington, 316; service, 316*n*; ration purchases, 368*n*.

Holmes, *Lieut.* Benjamin, court-martial, 101.

Holmes, *Capt.* James, court-martial, 88; resigns, 88*n*.

Holtzendorff, *Baron* de, letter to, 92; military manuscript, 92; office, 93.

Horns, cartridge boxes, 361, 363.

Horses, military saddle, 40; proposed public harness making, 73; for foreign volunteers, 83; claims, 94; unnecessary, in army, officers entitled to, 104, 139, 304, 442*n*; removal before Howe's advance, 130, 141, 150; British need, 160, 164; hitched to wagons at night, 189, 244, 493; collection, impressment, abuse, 232, 249, 420, 469; seizing loyalist, 317; returns on riding and pack, 421; marking, 433. *See also* Cavalry.

Hospitals, after Brandywine, 209; returns on sick for, 404. *See also* Medical department.

House, George, court-martial, 99.

Houston, *Lieut.* Alexander, court-martial, 191.

Howe, Richard, *viscount,* flag to, 182. *See also* Navy, British.

Howe, *Gen.* Robert, aide, 439*n*; major general 460.

Howe, *Sir* William, flag to, 182; letters to, 186, 217, 244, 314, 315; Prescott-Lee exchange, 186; complaint on dismantling mills, letter, 314, 315*n*; dog returned, 315; cartel, 463. *See also* Philadelphia campaign.

Howells Tavern, Pa., 245.

Hudson River, fear of Howe's movement, American preparations (August), 1–7, 9, 10, 22, 23, 26, 34, 40, 42, 44, 60; (July), 20, 40, 54; militia for, 1, 5, 9, 60, 71, 91, 92, 111, 112, 196, 219, 254, 290, 296, 326, 336, 340, 349, 356, 365, 371, 372, 401*n*; Clinton's probable movement up, or into New Jersey, 55, 67, 115, 201, 203, 218, 219, 221, 225, 234, 290; line reenforcement for Northern army, 60, 82, 91; returns, 70; need of funds, 92; proposed return of Washington's army, 107–110, 113, 118*n*; probable winter force, barracks, 187; line reenforcement for New Jersey and Washington, 218, 224, 231, 239, 245*n*, 246, 253, 320, 325, 349, 372, 468; concentration, 254, 349; artillery, 290; British attack, forts taken, 316, 323, 325*n*, 326, 337, 339, 349, 355, 364, 371–373, 400*n*, 401, 417; sufficiency of force, 325, 326; importance of defense, 339; line reenforcements from Northern army, 371, 441, 463, 468*n*, 471; boats, 371, 373; destruction of American frigates, 373; British retirement, American advance, 400*n*, 401*n*, 440, 463, 464, 468, 471, 482, 483; British depredations, 429, 451, 482.

Hughes, *Col.* Hugh, forwarding letter to, 151; salt for Northern army, 154, 156; letter to, 156; information, 441.

Hughes, *Lieut.* John, recruiting trouble, 176.

Hunter, *Col.* Daniel, militia, Philadelphia campaign, 138.

Hunter, Samuel, letter to, 368*n*.

Huntington, *Gen.* Jedidiah, Philadelphia campaign, 333, 344, 465; brigade, 353, 380; trial of Wayne, 421, 491; council of war, 464*n*.

Huntington Library, material from, 344.

Impressment, horses and wagons, 214, 232, 233, 292, 358, 374, 420, 474; Washington's authority, 237*n*, 270, 274; blankets, clothing, shoes, warrants, 248–250, 259, 269, 270, 318, 319, 358, 375, 489; horses for dragoons, abuse, 432, 433.

Independent companies, regimenting, 233.

Indians, Fort Schuyler, 75, 103, 151, 154; with Burgoyne, counteracting fear, 70, 78, 102, 102*n*.

Ingram, *Lieut. Col.* James, resignation, 81, 359.

Inoculation, Washington on benefits, 21; Virginia act against, 21*n*; recruits, 165.

Inspector general, proposed, purpose, 441, 442*n*.

Intelligence, of British forces around New York City, 44, 55, 66, 67; from British deserters, 44; reconnaissances in Philadelphia campaign, 132, 133, 136, 148, 172, 173, 183, 185, 195, 205; suspicious characters in camp, 189; after Brandywine, 214*n*; desire and lack on British movements, 257, 264; to British, 352; Kings Bridge reconnaissance, 401*n*; on British in Philadelphia, 419. *See also* Guides; Maps; Scouting; Spies.

Intercourse with the enemy. *See* Flag of truce; Loyalists; Passes; Prisoners of war.

Invalid corps, men for, 29. *See also* Nicola, Lewis.

Iron Hill, Del., skirmish and British position, 173, 187, 194, 197.

Iroquois Indians, Fort Schuyler, 103.

Irvine, *Gen.* James, Philadelphia campaign, 179, 180, 493; council of war, 279.

Irvine, *Capt.* Matthew, company regimented, 364; resigns, 364*n*.

Jackson, *Col.* Henry, commissions for officers, 194, 384, 417; excessive requisition of arms, 331; regiment to Washington's army, 463*n*, 467.

Jackson, William, court-martial, 88.

Jameson, *Maj.* John, escort, 245; letter to, 357; impressment instructions, 357.

January, Peter, shoes to be impressed, 250.

Jenkins Tavern, Pa., 307.

Johnson, *Gov.* Thomas, letters to, 11*n*, 174.

Johnston, *Col.* Francis, at court-martial, 145, 167, 169; service, 145*n*.

Johnston, *Lieut. Col.* George, equipment, 40.
Johnston, Henry P., *Campaign of 1776,* 140*n.*
Jones, *Capt.-Lieut.* Gibbs, artillery company, 167, 170.
Jones, Joseph, letter to, 232; use of Washington's phaeton, 232.
Jones Ford, Pa., battle of Brandywine, 206.
Jouett, *Ensign* Robert, court-martial, 191; service, 191*n.*
Judge advocate. *See* Lawrence, John.

Kalb, Johann, (*baron*) de, question of appointment, 387.
Kennon, John, paymaster, 149.
Kent County, Del., militia, Philadelphia campaign, 141.
Kephart, John, prisoner, 120.
Kettles, on march, 127, 213.
Kilpatrick, *Sergt.* George, court-martial, 99.
Kincaid, *Lieut.* William, court-martial, 297; acting brigade major, 297.
King William County, Va., Martha Washington's estate, 280.
Kings Bridge, N. Y., reconnaissance, 401*n*; American advance proposed, 468*n.*
Kingston, N. Y., British destroy, 429, 482, 482*n.*
Kinley, *Lieut.* Benjamin, court-martial, 31; service, 31*n.*
Knox, *Gen.* Henry, and returns on arms, 20; control at Springfield, 58; councils of war, 110*n*, 263*n*, 279, 442*n*, 464*n*; at court-martial, 149; Philadelphia campaign, artillery camp, 169, 180; ammunition for Delaware River defense, 287*n*, 293; to deliver reprimand, 304; at court of inquiry, 347.
Kulpsville, Pa. *See* Towamencin.

Laboratory, at Carlisle, 74. *See also* Springfield.
Lafayette, Marie Joseph P. Y. R. G. du Motier, *marquis* de, and command of division, 95, 96, 480; to join army, 96; councils of war, 110*n*, 464*n*; Brandywine, wounded, 208; and Vrigney, 480.
Lake Champlain, American successes, 276.
Lamb, *Col.* Gideon, promotion, 80, 81.
Lancaster, Pa., stores removed, 119; Virginia militia, 224, 274, 275, 278; Congress, 257*n*; arms, 270; magazine, 324, 497.
Land, lease of Martha Washington's dower, to son, 280–282; Washington's lots at Berkeley Springs, 449.
Langdon, John, letter to, 17.
Langdon, *Capt.* Jonathan, court-martial, 31; resigns, 31*n.*
Langlois, Denis Jean Florimond. *See* Du Bouchet.

La Radière, *Lieut. Col.* Lewis de, sent to the Highlands, 325, 339, 350; service, 325*n*.

La Rouerie, *Marquis* de. *See* Armand-Tuffin.

Latimer, *Dr.* Henry(?), and captured wounded, 217.

Laurens, Henry, committee on medal, 351*n*; president of Congress, letter to, 476.

Laurens, John, letter to, 25; extra aide, 25, 189; letters written by, 61*n*, 79*n*, 117*n*, 156*n*, 186*n*, 190*n*, 225*n*, 473*n*, 474*n*, 495*n*; regular aide, 313.

Lawrence, John, judge advocate, court-martial at quarters, 17; dragoon court-martial, 29.

Lawson, John, acting brigade major, 369.

Lawson, *Col.* Robert, command, 100; service, 100*n*, 168*n*; at court-martial, 168, 190.

Lead, scarcity, 235; supply, import, 351, 415, 417, 497.

Leak, *Mrs.* ——, flag of truce, 68.

Learned, *Gen.* Ebenezer, brigade to the Hudson, 468*n*.

Leather, proposed public tanneries and manufacture, 73. *See also* Shoes.

Le Bèque du Portail. *See* Du Portail.

Lee, *Gen.* Charles, question of exchange, 186.

Lee, *Capt.* Elisha, company, 435.

Lee, Francis Lightfoot, and Conway, 390*n*.

Lee, *Capt.* Henry, court-martial, 133; before Brandywine, 148; after Germantown, 311; British supply line, 475.

Lee, *Capt.* James, Delaware River defense, 457; service, 457*n*.

Lee, Richard Henry, committee on Burgoyne campaign, 83*n*; letter to, 387; on Conway's promotion and Board of War, letter, 389*n*, 390*n*.

Lee, *Col.* William Raymond, commissions for officers, 194, 387, 417; regiment to Washington's army, 287, 463*n*, 467; excessive requisition of arms, 331.

Leiper(Leib?), *Dr.* Michael(?), and captured wounded, 217.

Leiperville, Pa., headquarters near, 205*n*.

Leland, Patrick, court-martial, 99.

Leonard, *Miss* ——, on British account of Germantown, 323*n*.

Leverings Tavern, Pa., 307.

Lewis, *Capt.* Charles, troop, 193.

Lewis, Fielding, Berkeley Springs lots, 449.

Lewis, George, letter written by, 428*n*.

Light infantry, corps organized, 145, 148; command, 149; volunteers in, 157; rejoining, 227; dispersed, 266; strength, 278. *See also* Maxwell, William.

Linch, Peter, court-martial, 170.

Lincoln, *Gen.* Benjamin, sent to Northern army, influence, 13, 76, 102, 228; tactics, 77; Ticonderoga success, 276; Freemans Farm, wounded, 377, 428; letter to, 428.

Lipscomb, *Capt.* Reuben, court-martial, 191; service, 191*n*.

Liquor, need, 19; headquarters' tavern bill, 54*n*; proposed public distillery, 73; benefits of use, 73, 105; issue, 91, 121, 199, 209, 213, 277; supply, quality, 105; sutlers' profiteering, stock taken over, 119, 442, 442*n*, 464, 464*n*, 491; drunk at post, 170; officers drunk, 360, 435, 436, 438.

Little, *Col.* Moses, promotion, 80, 81.

Livingston, *Col.* Henry Beekman, regiment to Northern army, 35, 55, 60, 78, 82, 102.

Livingston, *Gov.* William, letters to, 11*n*, 113, 114, 158, 283, 315, 339, 412, 485; on Doctor Barnet, 159*n*; militia calls, purpose, 196, 284, 340, 356, 468, 477; British in New Jersey, 236; on loyalists, letter, 316; term expired, 477.

Lloyds Mill, Pa., 475.

Lockhart, *Maj.* Samuel, promotion, 359; service, 359*n*.

Logan, James, headquarters at house, 124*n*.

Long Island, Putnam's plans against, 254*n*.

Longspit, Christian, court-martial, 99.

Loudoun County, Va., militia for Philadelphia campaign, 353.

Lovell, James, on appointment of Gates, letter, 9*n*.

Loyalists, illegal military execution of civilian, 7; disaffection in Maryland, 137, 141; trial of a recruiter, 149, 158, 160; Philadelphia campaign, and British, impressment on, 160, 195*n*, 257, 317, 318, 352, 358, 408; Queens Rangers, 241; New Jersey, 294; temporary return of refugee refused, 296; Livingston on, 316; Duché's letter, 382. *See also* Passes.

Lucans Mill, Pa., 308.

Lucas, *Capt.* John, irregular recruiting, 64.

Ludwick (Ludowick), Christopher, superintendent of bakers, letter to, 185; ordered to the front, 185, 186.

Lushs Tavern, Germantown, 29.

Lynch, Peter. *See* Linch.

McCarty, Daniel, court-martial, 99.

McClanachan, *Col.* Alexander, rank controversy, 59; at court-martial, 100; resigns, 100*n*; trial of Wayne, 421, 491.

McClaster, James, court-martial, 30.

McClure, *Capt.-Lieut.* James, bears letter, 85; service, 85*n*.

McConnell, Matthew, brigade major, 97; service, 97*n*.

McCormick, *Capt.* George, court-martial, 439; retired, 439*n*.

McCracken, James, court-martial, 168.

McDaniel (McDonald?), ——, unauthorized flag of truce, 67.

McDavell, James, court-martial, 120.

McDougall, *Gen.* Alexander, letters to, 4, 221, 239, 246; and Howe's possible Hudson River movement, 4; to headquarters, 5; New Jersey movement, 218, 231; brigade to Washington's army, 224, 239, 245*n*, 246, 253, 258, 261, 263, 263*n*, 266, 270, 278, 297; councils of war, 279, 464*n*; Germantown, 307, 309; promotion, major general, 322, 460; at court of inquiry, 347; and brigade, 353; suggestion on Hudson River defense, 371; division command, 380; British supply line, 408, 421; seamen to river defense, 461; aides, 471; in march, 492.

McDougall, Ronald Stephen, McDougall's aide, 471.

McGowen, *Capt.* John, brigade major, 461; service, 461*n*.

McIlvain, John, headquarters in house, 205*n*.

McIlvaine, William, complaint, 36.

McIntosh, *Gen.* Lachlan, brigadier general, 25.

McKay, Daniel, court-martial, 30.

McKean, Thomas, letter to, 346; acting president of Delaware, 346*n*.

McKinley, Alexander, court-martial, 30.

McKinly, *Pres.* John, letter to, 11*n*.

McKinsey, Morris, court-martial, 30.

McMichael, *Ensign* William, court-martial, 89; service, 89*n*.

McNair, *Lieut.* James, civil arrest for recruiting, 84; service, 84*n*.

McPherson, *Capt.* John, parole and pass, 177.

Magazine of American History, material from, 45*n*, 264*n*, 318*n*, 333*n*, 473*n*.

Magazines, stores, and supplies, profiteering, 72, 97, 119, 442; guards, 74, 292, 294; removal before Howe's advance, 119, 130, 132, 137, 141, 146, 150, 151, 153, 156, 185, 196, 214, 229, 236, 249, 250, 270, 271, 289, 291, 292, 294, 314, 315, 315*n*, 317, 359, 470, 475; from prizes, 287; operations against Howe's supply line, 317, 337, 338, 345, 346, 392, 405, 408, 409, 421, 462, 470, 474, 484, 496; lack of

essential, 365; removal on Hudson River, 371; state returns, 414; importation, 415–417. *See also* Arsenal; Commissary.

Maidenhead, N. J., troops at, 37.

Major generals, Conway, Washington's opposition, 387–389; Howe, McDougall, 460. *See also* Councils of war; Divisions.

Malcom, *Col.* William, letter to, 233; force and officers, 233; winter preparations, 234; to Washington's army, 254; regiment brigaded, 353; additional companies, 364; on the Hudson, 430; arrangement of officers, 461.

Malmedy, François, *marquis* de, sent to Northern army, 27; colonel, 27*n*.

Maneuvers. *See* Drill.

Manufactures, proposed public, 73.

Maps, Philadelphia campaign, 53, 162.

March, in summer heat, 6, 21, 24; drum signals, 79, 80; advance, road repair, 80; orders for, 114, 123, 124, 225*n*, 251, 297, 329, 378, 404, 492; keeping rank, 125, 126; through Philadelphia, orders, 125–128; precautions against surprise, 260.

Marchant, Henry, on march through Philadelphia, letter, 128*n*.

Marcus Hook, Delaware River, as point for British landing, 53; militia rendezvous, 132.

Maréchausée corps, 304*n*.

Markham, *Lieut. Col.* John, court-martial, cashiered, 438.

Marks, on horses, 433.

Marshall, *Col.* Thomas, of Virginia, artillery command, 301.

Martin, *Col.* Alexander, court-martial, 470.

Martin, *Sergt.* Charles, court-martial, 99.

Martin, James, court-martial, 170.

Maryland, act against recruiting for outside or general regiments, 84; militia and Philadelphia campaign: before Brandywine, 129, 136, 140–143, 147, 149–151, 153, 174–177, 198; after Brandywine, 210, 222, 223, 232, 238, 240, 241, 252, 258, 261, 263*n*, 265, 278, 284; at Germantown, 309; after Germantown, 320, 385, 462, 479, 483, 484; loyalists, 137, 141, 195*n*; lack of general officers, 228. *See also* next titles.

Maryland, governor of. *See* Johnson, Thomas.

Maryland delegates, letter to, 84.

Maryland Fifth Regiment, detachment, 104. *See also* Richardson, William.

Maryland Historical Society, material from, 85*n*, 175*n*.

Maryland Sixth Regiment, soldiers court-martialed, 29.

Maryland Second Regiment, officer court-martialed, 403; seamen for river defense, 461. *See also* Price, Thomas.

Mason, *Col.* David, letter to, 165; More case, 476*n*.

Massachusetts. *See* next titles; Boston; New England.

Massachusetts Council, letters to, 11*n*, 53*n*.

Massachusetts Historical Society, material from, 24, 43, 58*n*, 220, 288, 332, 442*n*.

Matuchen Hill, Pa., letter from, 387.

Mauduit du Plessis, *Chev.* Thomas Antoine, Delaware River defense, 328, 334, 457; service, 334*n*.

Maxwell, *Gen.* William, council of war, 110*n*; Philadelphia campaign, light infantry corps: before Brandywine, 125, 147–149, 155, 162, 171, 183, 186; at Brandywine, 206, 207; after Brandywine, 209, 227, 230, 231, 235, 236, 240, 245, 266, 278; at Germantown, 307, 309; letters to, 146, 153, 155, 162 (two), 171, 182, 183, 231; volunteers in corps, 157; plan to capture Hessian general, 183, 184; charges against, court of inquiry and court-martial, 379, 438, 470; brigade major, 439.

Meade, *Lieut. Col.* Richard Kidder, letters written by, 6*n*, 8*n*, 24*n*, 25*n*, 41*n*, 53*n*, 71*n*, 96*n*, 116*n*, 119*n*, 137*n*, 142*n*, 151*n*, 188*n*, 250*n*, 271*n*, 357*n*, 359*n*, 368*n*, 369*n*, 376*n*, 387*n*, 394*n*, 418*n*, 424*n*, 433*n*, 444*n*, 457*n*.

Mealy, Edward, court-martial, 122.

Mease, James, clothier general, shoes, 43; clothing issue, after battle, 212, 227, 251; authority to impress clothing and transportation, 250, 374; desired at camp, 324; and lack of clothing, 365.

Medal, for Washington proposed, 351*n*.

Medical department, army chests, 286. *See also* Health; Hospitals; Sick; Surgeons.

Mehelm, *Col.* John, Washington at house, 68; office, 68*n*.

Meigs, *Col.* Return Jonathan, promotion, rank, 295; service, 295*n*.

Meltz, *Lieut.* Jacob, absent, suspended, 379.

Mercenaries (Germans), exchange of field officers, 38; plan to capture general, 183, 184; Fort Mercer attack, 422–425, 428–430, 450; number in Convention troops, 454.

Merlin, H. M. S., destroyed, 422*n*, 423*n*, 428, 430, 436, 441, 450, 453.

Mifflin, *Col.* Jonathan, letter to, 291; removal of stores, 291, 292; on British account of Germantown, letter, 323*n*.

Mifflin, *Gen.* Thomas, quartermaster general, duties on march and in camp, 4, 36, 63, 169, 179, 213, 226; transportation on march, 24,

181, 193, 200, 212, 233; arms chests, 145; pickets, 200; letter to, 233; quarters at Potts Grove, 267.

Military chest. *See* Funds.

Military science and art, concentration for defense, 46; formation for march, 80, 124–127; Holtzendorff's proposed book, 92; formation for action, 227; concentration on main force of enemy, 294, 328, 420.

Military secretaries and aides, to major generals, 7*n*, 252, 285, 292*n*, 301*n*, 439*n*, 471; Thornton and Laurens, 22, 25, 189, 313; brigade major *vice* absent aide of major general, 297.

Military stores. *See* Ammunition; Arms; Equipments; Magazines.

Militia, Hudson River defense, 1, 5, 9, 60, 71, 91, 92, 111, 112, 196, 197, 219, 254, 290, 296, 326, 336, 340, 349, 356, 365, 371, 372, 401*n*; Burgoyne campaign, use, 9, 13, 16, 34, 60, 61, 76, 77*n*, 78, 102, 111, 112, 115, 182, 197, 451, 453; and Howe's possible landing in New England, 42; dependence on pending new army, 56, 59; New Jersey defense, 114, 159, 294, 402, 477; Philadelphia campaign: before Brandywine, assemblage, 128–130, 132, 136–143, 147–151, 153, 160, 174–177, 184, 195*n*, 196, 198, 202; after Brandywine, 210, 215, 216, 222–224, 230, 232, 238, 240, 241, 246, 252, 258, 260, 268, 270–275, 277, 278, 282, 284, 293, 301; at Germantown, 307, 309; after Germantown, use, inadequacy, 313, 317, 320, 324, 325, 337, 338, 341, 344, 346, 350, 353, 383–386, 391, 398, 405, 408, 451, 453, 462, 474, 479, 483, 496; lack of arms for, 132, 140, 163, 175, 222, 230, 260, 274, 275, 278, 350, 496; detail of workmen, 151, 167; New Jersey districts, 158; active force in Virginia, use, regulations, 163, 164, 301; praised, 182; firing on flag of truce, 183; returns, 202; Delaware River defense, 284, 335, 345*n*, 350, 357*n*, 371*n*, 376, 402, 407, 411, 413, 418–420, 431, 443–445, 457, 469, 473, 476, 485, 486; guarding stores, 291, 292, 294; officer for headquarters orders, 298; evil of dependence, 367; lack of clothing for, 390; substitutes bounty, 481, 486; use in winter, 483; desertion, 497; carry off arms, 497. *See also* Draft.

Mill Town, Del., British at, 197.

Miller, *Capt.* Samuel, recruiting trouble, 176.

Milligan, James, tavern, 238*n*.

Mills. *See* Flour mills.

Minor Meeting House, Pa., 405.

Missouri Historical Society, material from, 93*n*, 356*n*.

Moccasins, making, 341.

Mohawk Valley. *See* Fort Schuyler.

Money. *See* Paper money; Specie.

Monmouth County, N. J., salt works, British threat, 402, 411, 486*n*.

Montgomery, James, court-martial, 30.
Montgomery, John, court-martial, 30.
Montgomery, William, court-martial, 29.
Montgomery, U. S. S., river operations, 299*n*.
Montgomery Township, Pa., camp, 333.
Moon, Jacob, paymaster, court-martial, 101.
Moore, *Ensign* John, paymaster's abuse, 101; service, 101*n*.
Moore, *Lieut.* Nicholas Ruxton, letters to, 68, 81; pay or resignation, 68, 69, 81, 82.
Moore, *Lieut.* Thomas, court-martial, 439.
Morals, guard of camp, 130.
More, John, court-martial, capital penalty, consideration, 476.
Morgan, *Col.* Daniel, letters to, 37, 45, 71; New Jersey movements, 37, 45; corps sent to Northern army, 70, 71, 78, 82; pay of corps, 71; to adjudge claims, 94; Burgoyne campaign, 102; return of corps, 264, 466*n*, 468, 468*n*.
Morgan, J. Pierpont, material from library, 79.
Morgan, John, court-martial, 30.
Morgan, *Lieut.* Simon, court-martial, 404.
Morris, Daniel, mill, 307.
Morris, James, headquarters at house, Whitpain, 494, 495*n*.
Morris, *Maj.* Lewis, *jr.*(?), to adjudge claims, 94.
Morris, Robert, letter to, 65; specie for Washington, 65.
Morristown, N. J., army ovens, 185; removal of stores, 224; march by, 253.
Moylan, *Col.* Stephen, and dragoon court-martial, 29, 379, 404; search for stragglers, 36; officers and special pay or resignation, 68, 69, 81, 82; troopers court-martialed, 99; marching orders, 114, 125; letters to, 214, 433*n*; removing stores, 214; scouting, 214*n*, 242, 245; red uniforms, 288; foray, 288; Pulaski's complaint, court-martialed, 472.
Mud Island. *See* Fort Mifflin.
Muhlenberg, Henry Melchior, on hardships of march, 238*n*; Diary, 238*n*.
Muhlenberg, *Gen.* Peter, councils of war, 110*n*, 279, 464*n*; brigade majors, 120, 144; marching orders, 125; brigade, 329; at court of inquiry, 379; trial of Wayne, 421, 491; seamen for river defense, 461.
Mullens, *Maj.* Thomas, troubles with brigadier, court-martial, 7, 44, 65; service, 7*n*, 292*n*; bears letter, 292; brigade major, bravery, 305, 313.

Murphy, John, pardon, 44.
Murray, *Maj.* Francis, letter to, 224; to Washington's army, 224.
Music, on march, time, 127. *See also* Drums.
Muster, rolls, neglect, 28, 149, 306, 362.
Mustermaster general. *See* Ward, Joseph.
Mutiny, trial, penalty, 99; officer encouraging, 439.
Myer, *Lieut.* Christopher, court-martial, 31; service, 31*n*.
Myer, George, court-martial, 121.

Nash, *Gen.* Francis, letters to, 8, 24, 80, 116, 130; Philadelphia campaign: before Brandywine, 8, 24, 116, 119, 130, 144, 169, 179, 180, 200; after Brandywine, 226*n*, 251, 297; at Germantown, mortally wounded, 307, 309, 310, 321, 332, 336, 355, 374, 398; councils of war, 263*n*, 279; funeral, 342.
Navigation, river transportation of troops, 8. *See also* Boats; Ferries; Navy; Obstructions; Prizes.
Navy, American, service in, as military punishment, 168, 170; operations against British at Philadelphia, 255, 293, 299, 300; Delaware River defense, 283, 321, 327, 328, 334, 356*n*, 358, 364, 368, 369, 371*n*, 373, 393, 394, 399, 409–411, 422*n*, 427, 428, 430, 433, 440, 445, 450, 459, 460, 489, 494, 495; ammunition from army, 286; Biddle's exploit, 305; collecting men, reenforcements from army, 369–371, 378, 381, 400, 434, 436, 447, 448, 452, 460, 461, 469, 477; desertion, 370, 423*n*; destruction of frigates in Hudson River, 373, 401*n*; frigates in upper Delaware River, scuttling, 434, 437, 445–448. *See also* Continental Navy Board.
Navy, British, sea power, 15, 18; in Philadelphia campaign, Chesapeake Bay, 106, 111, 113, 115, 116, 185, 186, 196–198; deserters, 188. *See also* Delaware River.
Neglect of duty. *See* Disobedience to orders.
Nelson, *Gen.* Thomas, letters to, 163, 271; Virginia militia command, instructions, 163–165; and militia for Washington's army, 272; arbitration by, 281.
Nelson, *Capt.* Thomas, letter to, 93; resignation, 93.
Nepotism, Washington's relatives, 449.
Neshaminy Camp, Pa., selected, 36; headquarters, letters and orders from, 54–124.
New Castle County, Del., militia for Philadelphia campaign, 202.
New England, as Howe's objective, 1, 6, 23, 34, 36, 41–43, 53, 54, 57; Burgoyne campaign, 13, 60, 61, 76; drafting, 386, 487. *See also* states by name.

New Hampshire, Burgoyne campaign, 76. *See also* next titles; New England.

New Hampshire, president of. *See* Weare, Meshech.

New Hampshire Grants. *See* Vermont.

New Hampshire Historical Society, material from, 66, 116*n*, 242 (two), 253.

New Jersey, militia for Philadelphia campaign, 56, 59, 196, 246, 258, 261, 263*n*, 268–271, 278, 282, 284, 293, 309, 313, 320, 383–385, 399, 402; militia for Hudson River, 111, 112, 196, 326, 340, 356; militia for home defense, 114, 159, 294, 402, 477, 486*n*; militia districts, 158; possible British movement in eastern, 201, 203, 218, 219, 221, 223, 225, 231, 234, 236; militia for Delaware River defense, 284, 335, 345*n*, 350, 357*n*, 371*n*, 376, 402, 407, 411, 413, 418–420, 431, 444, 456, 457, 462, 469, 473, 476, 485, 486; guarding stores, 291, 292, 294; loyalists, 294; salt works, British threat, 402, 411, 486*n*; state recruiters, 407, 412; apprehension of deserters, 412; condition of line troops, 486. *See also* next titles.

New Jersey, governor of. *See* Livingston, William.

New Jersey campaign, funds, Washington's private account, 65.

New Jersey First Regiment, court-martial of soldier, 268. *See also* Ogden, Matthias.

New Jersey Fourth Regiment, officer court-martialed, 88.

New Jersey Second Regiment, soldiers court-martialed, 30, 88.

New Jersey Third Regiment. *See* Dayton, Elias.

New Jersey Volunteers, recruiter captured, trial, 149, 158, 160.

New York, militia for Hudson River defense, 1, 5, 60, 92, 371; militia for Burgoyne campaign, 9, 12, 111, 112. *See also* next titles; Burgoyne campaign; Hudson River.

New York, governor of. *See* Clinton, George.

New York City, intelligence on British troops around, 44, 55, 66, 67; question of movement against, 108, 254*n*.

New York Council of Safety, letter to, 12.

New York Fourth Regiment. *See* Livingston, Henry Beekman.

New York Gazette, 300*n*.

New York Historical Society, material from, 12*n*, 27, 33, 103*n*, 155*n*, 265*n*, 466.

New York Public Library, material from, 37*n*, 71*n*.

New York Second Regiment. *See* Van Cortlandt, Philip.

New York Third Regiment. *See* Gansevoort, Peter.

Newcastle, Del., British advance toward, 173.

Newcomb, *Gen.* Silas, letters to, 56, 417; use of militia brigade, 59, 110; militia and defense of the Delaware, complaint against, 335, 345*n*, 350, 357*n*, 371*n*, 376, 407, 413, 418, 462, 469, 473, 476, 477, 485, 486.

Newport, Del., tavern, 168; troops at, 179, 194; headquarters, letters and orders from, 190–193, 195–197.

Newport, R. I., exchange matters, 161; reported evacuation, 463, 471.

Newtown Square, Pa., rendezvous of militia pickets, 338.

Nicetown, Pa., headquarters near, 124*n*.

Nicholas, *Lieut. Col.* George(?), North Carolina men, 249.

Nicholas, *Col.* Robert, assistant commissary of military stores, shipment of arms, 324.

Nicholas, *Maj.* Samuel, on lead supply, 415, 417.

Nicola, *Col.* Lewis, letter to, 283; Fort Mifflin, 283, 284.

Nixon, *Gen.* John, return of brigade to the Hudson, 441; to Washington's army, 464, 468.

Noncommissioned officers, reduced, 167; orderly sergeant, 275.

Norristown, Pa. *See* Swedes Ford.

North Carolina, cavalry from, disposal, 118. *See also* next titles.

North Carolina Eighth Regiment, officers, 359.

North Carolina First Regiment. *See* Clark, Thomas.

North Carolina Fourth Regiment. *See* Polk, Thomas.

North Carolina Second Regiment. *See* Martin, Alexander.

North Carolina Sixth Regiment. *See* Lamb, Gideon.

North Carolina Third Regiment, officers, 359.

North Wales Meeting House, Pa., 282.

Northampton County, Pa., impressment of clothing, 269.

Northern army, command, 8, 9, 11, 34, 61; salt, 154, 156; troops to Washington's army, 264, 463, 466–468, 471, 478; troops for Hudson River, 371, 441, 463, 468*n*, 471. *See also* Burgoyne campaign.

Northumberland County, Pa., provisions from, 368*n*.

Nottingham, Pa., removing stores, 153; troops at, 198.

Obstructions, in Delaware River, 47–49, 51, 52, 69, 321, 327, 356*n*, 357; Hudson River, chain passed, 325*n*. *See also* Delaware River.

Officers, recruiting by, superseded, 10, 11, 11*n*; reprimanded, 31, 32, 101, 120, 121, 191, 304, 360, 403; to ask pardon, 31; ration matters, 38*n*, 98, 101, 204; volunteer, 40; absent, list, suspension, recall, 63, 90, 191, 285, 379; cashiered, 65*n*, 100, 360, 403, 404, 435, 438; resignations, Washington's rebuke on threat, 68, 82, 93, 388; promotion,

regulations, 81, 295, 348, 442, 442*n*, 472; servants, armed soldiers, 83, 244; assault by, 88, 89, 472; beginning of augmented pay, 98; blank commissions, 118; supernumerary, rotation in service in dragoons, 118, 233, 482; disobedience to orders and neglect of duty, general orders on, 120, 121, 297, 304, 360, 404, 438, 439, 472; lack of general, 138, 143, 227–229, 321; unauthorized mounting, entitled to ride, 139, 304, 442*n*; depredations, 191; Washington on brevets, 194; assignment and absence, 297; cowardice, trials, 329, 403, 404, 438, 439, 470; theft, 360; false charge, 359; drunk and unbecoming conduct, 360, 435, 436, 438, 439; encouraging mutiny, 439; for Washington's relation, 449; protest of Virginia regiment, 481. *See also* Brigadier generals; Commander in chief; Continental army; Councils of war; Courts-martial; Courts of inquiry; Foreign volunteers; Major generals; Noncommissioned officers; Prisoners of war; Rank; Staff.

Ogden, *Col.* Matthias, Philadelphia campaign, 9, 114, 117; to arrange officers, 461.

Opdyke, Leonard, letter possessed by, 497*n*.

Orbs, Thomas, court-martial, 99.

Orderly books, for each company, 268. *See also* General orders.

Oriskany, battle, 75, 106, 165.

Ovens, army, 185, 186. *See also* Bread.

Oxford, Godfrid, court-martial, 170.

Oxford Meeting House, Pa., troops at, 230.

Paca, William, letter to, 84*n*.

Page, John, information, 106, 112; letters to, 112, 300, 354.

Palfrey, *Lieut. Col.* William, paymaster general, letter to, 293; funds at front, 293.

Palmer, ——, depredations on, 88.

Palmer, *Lieut.* Edmund, British spy, Putnam's execution, 56*n*, 91.

Palmers Tavern, Pa., 18.

Paoli, action, wounded in British hands, 244; Wayne inquiry and court-martial, 352, 361, 421, 422, 491.

Paper, supply, 361.

Paper money, Washington's principles on payment in, 282; British use for funds for prisoners of war, 482. *See also* Funds.

Parade, fog, 35.

Pardon, of deserters, policy, 30, 166; general, 30, 88; of capital offenders, 44, 80, 99, 100, 170, 492. *See also* Amnesty.

Parker, John, paymaster, 168.

Parker, *Col.* Josiah, at court-martial, 304; service, 304*n*.

Parker, *Capt.* Paul, brigade major, 354.

Parkers Ford, Schuylkill River, movement, 237, 239, 242, 262.

Parole, significant, 157, 251, 377.

Paroles of prisoners of war, Canadian campaign, 24*n*; pay, 74, 116; pass to British officer, 177.

Parsons, *Gen.* Samuel Holden, Hudson River, 400*n*, 401*n*.

Passes, through the lines, 68, 104; abuse, 159; to paroled British officer, 177; detention by British, 240; refused for temporary return of refugee, 296; to Bryan Fairfax, 298*n*.

Paterson, *Gen.* John, brigadier commission, 146; brigade to the Hudson, 468*n*.

Patterson, ——, information on Wilmington, 344, 345.

Patterson, *Capt.* Thomas, brigade major, 439.

Patton, *Col.* John, officer court-martialed, 191.

Paulus Hook. *See* Powles Hook.

Pawlins Mill, Pa., headquarters, letters from, 317, 318, 323, 326–333.

Pay and allowances, recruiting agents, 10*n*; irregularity of abstracts, warning, 27; officers' ration, 38*n*, 101; detached division, 43, 66; prisoners on parole, 67, 116; cavalry officers, 68, 69, 81; Morgan's corps, 71; stoppage for bounty jumping, 88, 89; to British deserters, 92; beginning of officers' augmented, 98; at front, 293; stoppage to suspended officer, 379; certification of abstracts, 434, *See also* Bounty; Fines; Funds.

Paymasters, court-martial, 101; appointment, 149, 168.

Peck, Frederick S., letter possessed by, 376*n*.

Peekskill, N. Y., proposed barracks, 187; evacuation, British burning, 364, 371, 468*n*, 482, 483; reoccupation, 400*n*.

Peers, *Maj.* Valentine, brigade major, court-martial, 304.

Pennsylvania, taverns, 8, 18, 29, 37, 124, 204*n*, 226, 230, 238*n*, 245, 262, 269, 307; ranking officers, 65, 90; militia in Philadelphia campaign: before Brandywine, 130, 132, 137, 138, 140, 149, 179; after Brandywine, 215, 216, 232, 236, 240, 245, 278; at Germantown, 309; after Germantown, British supply line, inadequacy, 317, 337, 338, 344, 385, 391, 392, 399, 405, 408, 451, 453, 462, 474, 484, 496, 497; loyalists, 257; committee at camp, 259; recruiting, poor results, 386; army supplies, 415; militia and winter campaign, 484; militia for Delaware defense, 443, 444. *See also* next titles; Fort Pitt; Impressment; Philadelphia; Philadelphia campaign.

Pennsylvania, president of. *See* Wharton, Thomas, *jr.*

Pennsylvania Archives, 167*n*; material from, 218*n*.

Pennsylvania Eighth Regiment, paymaster, 168; recruiting interference, 175; Fort Pitt detachment, desertions, 362. *See also* Brodhead, Daniel.

Pennsylvania Eleventh Regiment, court-martial of soldiers, 30.

Pennsylvania Fifth Regiment, court-martial of soldiers, 29, 89, 167. *See also* Johnston, Francis.

Pennsylvania Fourth Regiment, court-martial of soldiers, 29.

Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, material from, 65*n*, 318*n*, 392*n*.

Pennsylvania Ninth Regiment, court-martial of soldiers, 30.

Pennsylvania Second Regiment, court-martial of soldiers, 121.

Pennsylvania Sixth Regiment, court-martial of soldiers, 168.

Pennsylvania Tenth Regiment, court-martial of officers, 360, 403, 404.

Pennsylvania Thirteenth Regiment, officer suspended, 378. *See also* Stewart, Walter.

Pennsylvania Twelfth Regiment, court-martial of soldiers, 89, 120, 303.

Pennypackers (Pennybeckers) Mill, Pa., headquarters, letters and orders from, 274–286, 308.

Penrose, *Col.* Joseph, Delaware River defense, 217; service, 217*n*.

Perkiomen, Pa., baggage and ammunition, 233; headquarters, orders and letters from, 311, 312, 329, 341.

Philadelphia, headquarters, letters from, 2, 5–20, 23–25; interdicted to troops, 2, 28, 46, 100, 116; march through, 125–128; guard against surprise attack, 128; army bread, 186; stragglers after Brandywine, 212, 217, 218; defense after Brandywine, 215–217; removal of stores and horses, 229, 236, 249, 250; proposed impressment of supplies, 249, 275; British march and occupation, 253, 255, 257, 259, 261, 263, 265, 270, 273, 278, 287, 295, 397; reported condition under British, 397. *See also* next title.

Philadelphia campaign, British leave Delaware Bay, American doubts, retrograde movements, 1–8, 15, 18, 21–24, 26, 34, 36, 37, 40–46, 54, 55, 57, 65, 76, 92, 102, 104, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112, 114, 115, 123; American movement into Pennsylvania, 2, 21, 40; and Burgoyne campaign, 13, 14, 16; harassments of marching, 18, 21, 40; British fleet seen off Maryland coast, 37, 43, 45, 55, 57, 60, 66, 107, 110, 112; volunteers, 40, 157; British fleet off Virginia capes, 106, 111, 113; American plans if Howe goes to South, 107–110, 113, 118*n*; British fleet in the Chesapeake, 115, 116, 118, 128; American concentration and march toward the Chesapeake, 115, 116, 119, 124, 127, 129–133, 136–138, 140, 145, 176, 184; militia, assemblage, use: before Brandywine, 128–130, 132, 136–138, 140–143, 147, 149–151, 153, 160, 174–177, 184, 195*n*, 196*n*, 198, 202; after Brandywine, 210,

215, 216, 222–224, 230, 232, 238, 240, 246, 252, 258, 260, 261, 263*n*, 265, 268–275, 277, 278, 282, 284, 293; after Germantown, 311, 317, 320, 323, 337, 338, 341, 344, 350, 353, 383–386, 398, 405, 408, 444, 451, 453, 462, 474, 479, 483, 496; British landing and preliminary movements, harassing, 130, 131, 136, 142, 146–148, 155, 159, 162, 164, 172, 173, 177, 289; removing stock and stores, dismantling mills, 130, 132, 137, 141, 146, 150, 151, 153, 156, 185, 196, 214, 229, 236, 249, 250, 270, 271, 289, 291, 292, 294, 314, 315, 315*n*, 317, 359, 470, 475; dragoons, 131, 133, 148, 214, 214*n*, 288, 358; arms and ammunition, lack, damage, 132, 137, 139, 140, 153, 163 169, 175, 222, 230, 231, 234, 237, 238, 240, 258, 262, 272, 274, 362, 366, 478; American reconnaissance, Washington, 132, 133, 136, 148, 172, 173, 183, 185, 195, 205, 214*n*, 451; loyalists, 137, 141, 160, 195*n*, 257, 317, 318, 352, 358, 408; flank and rear menace of British, 141–143, 150, 155, 162, 164, 185, 195*n*, 198, 202, 210, 222, 223, 235, 236, 240, 241; prisoners, deserters, skirmishes, forays, 143, 146, 148, 152, 155, 160, 164, 173, 187, 188, 195, 197, 288*n*; light infantry corps, 145, 148, 149, 173, 227, 266, 278, 438; Brandywine fords, guards, 149, 180; possible British plans, 152, 157, 171, 194, 197; Howe's proclamations, 152, 300, 306; British and American depredations, 152, 160, 162, 166, 167, 178, 243, 268, 289; map, 162; positions, 173, 187, 188, 194, 196; movements of British shipping, 185, 186, 196–198, 271; British and American movements: to Brandywine, 196–199, 201, 203, 205; after Brandywine, 209, 214, 215, 219, 220, 225, 229–231, 235–242, 245–247, 252, 253, 258, 262, 265, 270, 272, 284, 297; after Germantown, 318, 320, 329, 333, 378, 382, 384, 398, 400, 402, 404, 405, 492; defense of Philadelphia, proposed works, 203, 215–217; battle of Brandywine, 206–208, 220, 227*n*, 241, 242, 253, 272, 425, 426, 450; stragglers after battle, 209, 212, 217, 218; wounded in British hands, 217, 244; line reenforcements, routes, 219, 221, 224, 239, 245*n*, 246–248, 253, 258, 260, 261, 263, 263*n*, 264, 266, 270, 278, 280, 284, 287, 289, 296, 318, 320, 325, 327, 333, 335, 344, 349, 353, 372, 430, 441, 463–468, 471, 478; Schuylkill bridge, fords, and works, 220, 224, 237, 238, 242, 245*n*, 257, 258, 262, 263, 397, 408; shortage of general officers, 227–229, 231; lack of supplies, efforts to secure, impressment, 229, 233, 245*n*, 248–250, 259, 263, 269, 270, 273, 275, 299, 318, 319, 324, 336, 351, 358, 365, 375, 390, 398, 415, 416, 424, 478, 480, 486, 487; weather prevention of attack on British, 231, 238, 258, 262, 272; lack of provisions, 237, 238; dictatorship, 237; Paoli, captured wounded, inquiry, trial, 244, 352, 361, 421, 422, 491; British occupation of Philadelphia, 253, 255, 257, 259, 261, 263, 265, 270, 273, 278, 295, 397; removal of heavy baggage, 254, 255; councils of war, 258, 261–263, 277–279, 284, 308, 441, 442, 461–464, 478; strength of forces, 278, 461, 462, 479; proposed attack

on Germantown, postponed, 277–279, 284; prospects after occupation of city, 287, 295, 300; battle of Germantown, 307, 309–311, 316, 319, 327, 329–332, 336, 346, 351*n*, 352, 354, 357*n*, 374, 397, 398, 452; British at Wilmington, 316, 344–346, 474; guarding roads to city, movements on British supply line, 317, 337, 338, 345, 346, 392, 405, 408, 409, 421, 462, 470, 474, 484, 496; plans after Germantown, 320; account of conditions in city, 323*n*; artillery, 332; question of winter quarters or campaign, 349, 441, 442*n*, 480, 484; general orders on example of Northern army, 377, 391, 402; British retire from Germantown, 400, 402, 407, 413, 417, 452; Stephen's conduct, 436, 493; Maxwell's conduct, 438, 470; situation (November 1), 461, 477; British reenforcements, 471, 479, 483. *See also* Delaware River; General orders.

Philadelphia County, Pa., impressment of clothing, 269.

Philips, Peter, and office, 73.

Pickering, Timothy, adjutant general, on march through Philadelphia, 128*n*; Journal, 128*n*; letter written by, 208*n*; on battle of Germantown, 309*n*; proposed for Board of War, 389*n*.

Pickets, regulations, 189, 199, 200, 297, 304; on march, 226; dragoon, 353. *See also* Guards.

Pickett, *Maj.* William, Virginia militia for Philadelphia campaign, 341.

Pierce, *Capt.* William, information, 301, 302; service, 301*n*.

Pinckney, *Col.* Charles Cotesworth, at camp, 111.

Pioneers, on march, 80, 125, 308; ax men, 286.

Pittstown, N. J., army bread, 185.

Platt, Richard, McDougall's aide, 471.

Plunder. *See* Depredations.

Police of camp, slaughter house, offal, 189; filth and vaults, 298, 498.

Polk, *Col.* Thomas, baggage guards, 243.

Pollard, *Capt.* Benjamin, letter to, 190; Brandywine bridges and roads, 190.

Pollock, *Col.* Matthew, letter to, 254; baggage transportation guard, 254.

Poor, *Gen.* Enoch, brigadier commission, 146; brigade for the Hudson, 468*n*.

Porter, ——, flag of truce, 68.

Porterfield, *Capt.* Charles, artillery commission, 302; service, 302*n*.

Portsmouth, Va., proposed militia post, 163.

Potter, *Gen.* James, militia in Philadelphia campaign: before Brandywine, 130, 149, 179; after Brandywine, 232, 236, 240, 245; after Germantown, British supply line, 337, 338, 344, 346, 392, 405, 408,

409, 474, 475, 496, 497; councils of war, 262, 263*n*, 279; letters to, 344, 391, 405, 408*n*, 474, 496; impressment, 358.

Potts, David, court-martial, 30.

Potts, John, court-martial, 30.

Potts Forge, Pa., troops at, 236.

Potts Grove, Pa., movement of supplies and troops, 233; camp near, 245*n*; headquarters, letters and orders from, 246–270.

Pottstown, Pa. *See* Potts Grove.

Pouches, greasing, 341.

Powles Hook, N. J., Putnam's plan to attack, 254*n*.

Prentiss, *Lieut. Col.* Samuel, regiment brigaded, 380.

Prescott, *Gen.* Richard, question of exchange, 186.

President of Congress, letters to, 8, 26, 35, 36, 37, 38, 45, 59, 69, 72, 82, 83, 83*n*, 101, 107, 110, 111, 112, 118, 127, 132 (two), 136, 143, 145, 148, 151, 152, 172, 186, 195, 197, 203, 204*n*, 206, 207, 215, 225, 227, 230 (two), 236, 237, 257, 284, 298, 308, 319, 332, 349, 364, 381, 392, 406, 413, 422, 476; on Burgoyne campaign, letter, 82*n*; Hancock's resignation, 413.

Preudhomme de Borre, *Chevalier,* letters to, 6, 96; in Philadelphia campaign, 6, 44; irregular execution by, 7; trouble with brigade major, 7, 44, 65, 96; brigade, 103, 369; conduct at Brandywine, suspended, resignation, 216, 216*n*, 228.

Price, *Col.* Thomas, letter to, 67; officers of regiment, 67.

Prices. *See* Profiteering.

Prince William County, Va., militia for Philadelphia campaign, 353.

Prisoners of war, Canadian campaign, release, 24; on parole and pay, 67, 74; exchange of field officers, 38; British, in Philadelphia campaign, 143, 148, 155, 160, 165, 188; rule of exchange, time of capture, 161; special parole with pass, 177; returns necessary for exchange, 181; plan to capture Hessian general, 183, 184; Lee-Prescott exchange, 186; American wounded, care, 217, 244; flour to New York, 337; treatment by British, 381; Hessians captured at Fort Mercer, 423, 424; cartel negotiating, 429, 442*n*, 463; British use of continental money for funds, 482; Convention troops, 454.

Privies, regulations, 298, 498.

Prizes, by Americans, 287, 299*n*; by British at Head of Elk, 289.

Proclamations, Howe's, in Philadelphia campaign, 152, 300, 306; Washington's, on deserters, 406, 426, 427, 496.

Procter, *Col.* Thomas, Philadelphia campaign, 116, 119, 131; court-martial of soldiers and officers, 168, 170, 360; assaulted, 170.

Proctor, Isaac, court-martial, 29.

Profiteering, in army supplies, measures to check, 72, 97; sutlers, 119, 442.

Promotion, regimental regulations, 81, 295, 442, 442*n*, 472; as reward, 348.

Providence, submission, 39; supplication and gratitude, 211, 391, 394, 399, 400, 453; inscrutable, 397, 399, 454.

Province Island, Delaware River, flooding, 215, 217; British occupation, 356*n*, 358, 392, 396, 400, 407, 459, 489*n*, 496. *See also* Delaware River.

Provisions, vegetables, vinegar, 19, 32; salt, 132, 154, 156; emergent, 134, 139, 193, 200, 227, 252, 405, 412, 498; salt food advocated, 154; partiality in distribution, 191, 204; for officers, 204; on route of march, 214; removal from Philadelphia, 229; lack after Brandywine, 237, 238; adequate supply, 244; for Delaware River defense, 261, 395, 418, 423; waste, 347. *See also* Cattle; Commissary; Flour; Kettles; Ration.

Provost, dragoons, 304*n*.

Public industry, proposed, 73.

Pulaski, *Count* Casimir, foreign volunteer, sent to Congress, 112; chief of dragoons, 143, 244; letters to, 288, 433*n*; dragoon foray, 288; brigade major, 305; returns, 313; complaint against Moylan, 472.

Punishments, illegal capital, by brigadier general, 7; reprimand, 31, 32, 101, 120, 121, 191, 303, 304, 360, 403; officer to ask pardon, 31; officers cashiered, 65*n*, 100, 360, 403, 404, 435, 438; capital, cautious use, reprieve, pardon, 80, 88, 99, 100, 170, 267, 329, 341, 342, 439, 469, 476*n*, 492; ignominious, 99, 170; transfer to foot service, 99, 100; reduction of noncommissioned officers, 167; sent to serve in navy, 168, 170; summary execution of cowards, 188, 189, 227; officers suspended, 379. *See also* Crimes; Fines; Whipping.

Purnell, ——, information, 57.

Putnam, *Gen.* Israel, letters to, 1, 34, 54, 59, 69, 91, 115, 187, 201, 218, 253, 280, 289, 325, 335, 355, 400, 440, 464, 471, 487; spy letter to Clinton, 56*n*, 91; forwarding Morgan's corps, 70, 83*n*; and separate department, 290; plan to attack British posts, letter, 254*n*; loss of Highland forts, 325*n*; on reenforcements from Northern army, letter, 371*n*; on affairs after retreat, letter, 400*n*; loses wife, 401. *See also* Hudson River.

Quakers, collecting clothing from, 318.

Quartermaster department, returns, 471. *See also* next titles; Baggage; Commissary; Magazines; Quarters; Tools; Transportation.

Quartermaster general. *See* Mifflin, Thomas.

Quartermasters, on march, 80, 126; ax men, 286; police duties, 298.

Quarters, choosing winter, 349, 441, 442*n*, 480. *See also* Barracks; Blankets; Straw; Tents.

Queens Rangers, Brandywine, 241.

Radière, Lewis de la. *See* La Radière.

Raines, *Lieut.* Giles, court-martial, 404; resigns, 404*n*.

Ralston, *Lieut. Col.* Robert(?), letter to, 443; Delaware River defense, 443; service, 443*n*.

Randolph, U. S. S., exploit, 305.

Rank, dragoons, controversy, 29, 68, 69, 81; Arnold, 35*n*; Virginia regimental controversy, 59; arrangement, 65, 90, 461; problem due to state actions, 95; wagonmasters, 122; minor resignations over, 288; foreign volunteers, 388, 497, 498.

Rannals, Thomas, court-martial, 100.

Raritan River, cannon recovered, 117.

Ration, officers' issue and accounts, 38*n*, 101; value, 74, 98; proper, 205; excessive number and disproportion, 442; allowance, alteration, 476. *See also* Provisions.

Read, *Col.* James, death, 285.

Reading, Pa., army baggage, 243; hospital for sick, 252; stores, fear of British movement, 259, 263, 397; Virginia militia, 274.

Reading Furnace, Pa., letters from, 235–241.

Reconciliation, Duché's letter, 382.

Recruiting, plan for state recruiters, 10, 11, 61, 407, 412; choice of regiment, 11*n*; slow, poor results, appeal, 16, 22, 103, 233, 366, 386, 406, 487; cavalry, expense, difficulties, 24, 118, 131; out of other regiments, 64; for special service objectionable, 74; state law against, for outside or general regiments, 84; loyalist, trial of recruiter, 149, 158, 160; inoculation, 165; Virginia regiments, 165, 166; interference by general officer, 176; short term, reenlistment, 366, 481; draft, 367, 386, 487; forwarding recruits, 497. *See also* Bounty.

Red Bank, Delaware River. *See* Fort Mercer.

Red Lion Tavern, Del., 173.

Reed, Joseph, information, 265; council of war, 279*n*; foray, 288*n*; attempted British bribe, 382*n*; proposed for Board of War, 389*n*.

Reed, William B., *Joseph Reed,* material from, 205*n*.

Reese ap Edwards Ford, Schuylkill River, 408.

Regiments, Virginia establishment, change and protest, 481. *See also* Additional Continental regiments; and by number and name of state.

Religion, church service in camp, irregular, 275, 329; service on surrender of Burgoyne, 391. *See also* Providence.

Resignations, Washington's rebuke, 69, 82; accepted, 93.

Returns and rolls, issue of arms and equipments, 19; absent officers, 63, 90; deserters, 64; Hudson River force, 70; daily rolls, warning, 171, 243; prisoners of war, 181; militia, 202; general, strength of army, Howe's army, 251, 278, 461, 462, 479; brigade, 285, 435; wagons, 298, 420; muster (field) rolls, 306, 343, 362; needed arms, 341; needed clothing, 343; rejoined missing, 343; cartridges, 349; seamen in army, 378; lack of general, 415; riding and pack horses, 421; quartermaster department, 471; dragoon equipments, 498. *See also* Casualties.

Review, order for general, 33.

Rewards, presentations and thanks by Congress, 157*n*, 301*n*, 326*n*; promotion as, 348; proposed medal for Washington, 351*n*; for apprehending deserters, 492.

Rex, Adam, court-martial, 99.

Rhea, *Lieut.* John, quartermaster, court-martial, 191.

Rhode Island, reported American raid, 484. *See also* next titles; New England.

Rhode Island, governor of. *See* Cooke, Nicholas.

Rhode Island First Regiment. *See* Greene, Christopher.

Rhode Island Historical Society, material from, 457.

Rhode Island Second Regiment. *See* Angell, Israel.

Rice, *Capt.* George(?), bears letter, 39.

Richardson, *Lieut.* Richard, recruiting trouble, 176.

Richardson, *Col.* William, loyalists, 137, 153; letter to, 176; Philadelphia campaign, 176, 177, 184; at court of inquiry, 379.

Richardsons Ford, Schuylkill River, 242.

Richlings Ford, Brandywine Creek, 149.

Rickett, William, court-martial, 89.

Ridley, Pa., headquarters near, 205*n*.

Riflemen, sent to Northern army, 70, 71, 78, 82, 102. *See also* Morgan, Daniel.

Rising Sun Tavern, Pa., 124.

Rittenhouse, David, stores, 214.

Roach, Richard, court-martial, 29.

Roach, Thomas, court-martial, capital penalty, respite, pardon, 439, 469, 492.

Roads, repair for marching, 80; making at camp, 493.

Robinson, *Capt.* Isaiah, letter to, 427; Delaware River defense, 427, 428.

Robinson, James, court-martial, 121.

Robinsons Mill, Pa., 475.

Rodney, *Gen.* Caesar, letters to, 184, 195*n*, 202; militia in Philadelphia campaign, 184–186, 202, 210.
Roe, *Capt.* Jesse, company, 88*n*.
Roebuck, H. M. S., 422*n*, 423*n*, 430.
Rogers, *Maj.* Robert, loyalist corps, 241.
Rolls. *See* Returns.
Romans, *Capt.* Bernard, artillery company, 167*n*.
Rosenbach, Abraham S. W., acknowledgment to, 240*n*.
Routt, *Ensign* Richard, court-martial, 303.
Rowland, *Capt.* ——, experiments, 355.
Roxborough, Pa., headquarters, orders and letters from, 17, 18, 25–54, 211–225.
Rum. *See* Liquor.
Rumford, *Col.* ——, 368*n*.
Rumney, *Col.* William, letter to, 223; militia in Philadelphia campaign, 223, 313.
Rupp, Isaac D., *Berks and Lebanon Counties,* material from, 240*n*.
Rush, *Dr.* Benjamin, letters to, 177; and captured wounded, 217.
Rushworm, *Cornet* William, messenger, 282.
Rutgers University Library, material from, 384*n*, 402*n*.

Saddle, military, 40.
St. Clair, *Gen.* Arthur, recall to headquarters, inquiry, 26, 34, 38, 228, 322; information to Congress, 259; council of war, 263*n*.
St. John River, Nova Scotia, proposed expedition, 193.
St. Leger, Barry. *See* Fort Schuyler.
Salt, removal before British advance, 132; scarcity, 154; for Northern army, 154, 156; New Jersey works, British threat, 402, 411, 486*n*.
Sanitation. *See* Police of camp.
Saratoga battles. *See* Bemis Heights; Freemans Farm.
Saratoga campaign. *See* Burgoyne campaign.
Sargent, *Capt.* Winthrop, company, 439; service, 439*n*.
Schuylkill River, bridge, fords, and works in movements after Brandywine, 220, 224, 237, 238, 242, 245*n*, 257, 258, 262, 263, 397, 408.
Schuyler, *Gen.* Philip, Washington and removal, 8, 9; recall to headquarters, delay, inquiry, 26, 34, 38, 41, 106; letters to, 34, 41, 105; on conditions in Northern army, 35*n*; removing boats, 79; on Fort Schuyler and Bennington, 101, 103, 174*n*.
Scott, *Gen.* Charles, councils of war, 110*n*, 263*n*, 279; marching orders, 125; brigade major, 297; militia battalion, 313; seamen for river defense, 461.

Scott, James, court-martial, 30.
Scott, Joseph, brigade major, 144.
Scout, Philip, and Troup, 160.
Scouting, by dragoons, 214*n*, 242, 245.
Scudder, *Col.* Nathaniel, removal of stores, 294.
Sea power, British advantage, 15, 18.
Second Dragoons. *See* Sheldon, Elisha.
Secret committee, import of military supplies, 415.
Secretary of Congress. *See* Thomson, Charles.
Security, for recruiting agents, 10*n*.
Selections from the Correspondence of the Executives of New Jersey, material from, 314*n*.
Sentinels. *See* Guards.
Servants, for foreign volunteers, 83; soldier, of officers, arming, 244.
Sever, William, letter to. 53.
Shade, *Capt.* Henry, court-martial, cashiered, 404.
Shanks, *Ensign* Thomas, court-martial, cashiered, 360.
Shaws Mill, Pa., 475.
Sheldon, *Col.* Elisha, rank controversy, 29; at court-martial, 29, 98; in Philadelphia campaign, 114, 125, 145; letter to, 433*n*.
Shoes and stockings, supply, impressment, 43, 250, 259, 269, 270, 270*n*, 275, 318, 319, 324, 358; issue, 251, 364; disastrous lack, 259, 273, 299, 351, 415, 424, 478; making moccasins, 341; returns on needed, 343; state supply, 487. *See also* Clothing.
Sick, during active campaign, hospitals for, 17, 139, 193, 209, 404; regulation of discharge, 178; for general hospital, regulations, 470. *See also* Health.
Siegfried, *Col.* John, letter to, 318.
Sign of the Buck Tavern, Pa., 162, 262, 282; letters from, 222, 223.
Signals, march, 79, 80; tattoo discontinued, 190; and promiscuous firing, 200. *See also* Alarm.
Simms, *Maj.* Charles, complaint against, 36; promotion, 285; service, 285*n*.
Sinepuxent, Md., Howe's fleet seen off, 37, 43, 45, 55, 57, 60, 66, 112.
Skippack Camp, Pa., route by, 282; headquarters, orders and letters from, 286–298, 325, 355–359.
Slaughter house, regulations, 189.
Slaves, in rental value of estate, 281.
Smallpox. *See* Inoculation.

Smallwood, *Gen.* William, letters to, 103, 128, 147, 198, 222, 232, 240; brigade, absence from, 103, 225*n*, 228; Maryland militia in Philadelphia campaign: before Brandywine, 129, 136, 138, 141, 142, 144, 147, 150, 153, 174; after Brandywine, 210, 222, 223, 230, 232, 238, 240, 241, 252, 258, 261, 263*n*, 265, 278, 284; at Germantown, 307, 309; after Germantown, 493; Staten Island, 172; councils of war, 279, 464*n*.

Smith, ——, pass, 104.

Smith, *Lieut.* Ballard(?), false arrest, 120; acting brigade major, 120.

Smith, Daniel, court-martial, 30.

Smith, *Lieut.* John, court-martial, 31; resigns, 31*n*.

Smith, Jonathan Bayard, committee on officers' ration, 38*n*.

Smith, Matthew, deputy adjutant general, 168.

Smith, *Lieut. Col.* Samuel, letters to, 260, 292, 327, 356, 370, 396, 409, 416, 458, 490; Fort Mifflin defense, 260, 283, 284, 292, 321, 334, 356, 357, 368, 370, 371*n*, 375, 381, 396, 400, 409, 416, 490; service, 283*n*; on the defense, letter, 357*n*; question of command, commended, 416, 458; and navy, letter, 423*n*, 459, 460.

Smith, Thomas, court-martial, capital penalty, 30, 88.

Smith, William, court-martial, 29.

Smith, *Delegate* William, committee on officers' ration, 38*n*; letter to, 84*n*.

Smith, *Rev.* William, house, 27; officer's assault, 88, 89.

Smiths Clove, guarding entrance, 5; position in, 20.

Soap, allowance, 32, 38*n*.

South, as Howe's objective, American plans, 14, 102, 107–113.

Sparks, Jared, on Delaware River operations, 299*n*.

Spear, *Maj.* Joseph, Brandywine information, 425.

Specie, sent Washington, 65.

Speculation. *See* Profiteering.

Spencer, *Gen.* Joseph, letter to, 161; and exchange, 161.

Spencer, *Col.* Oliver, soldiers court-martialed, 29, 30; at court of inquiry, 347; to arrange ranking, 461.

Spies, Palmer episode, Putnam's letter, 56*n*, 91. *See also* Intelligence.

Spotswood, *Col.* Alexander, letter to, 59; rank controversy, 59.

Springfield, Mass., control over military affairs at, 58; orders on, 290; arms from, 324.

Staff. *See* next title; Adjutant general; Brigade majors; Clothier general; Commissary; Engineers; Inspector general; Medical department; Military secretaries; Mustermaster general; Paymaster general; Paymasters; Provost; Quartermaster department; Wagonmaster general.

Staff certificates, for impressed supplies, 269.

Stark, *Gen.* John, Burgoyne campaign, 76; Bennington, 115, 122, 131*n*.

Staten Island, unauthorized flag of truce, 68; Sullivan's unsuccessful raid, inquiry, 133, 135, 172, 228*n*, 347, 367, 379; Putnam's plan to attack, 254*n*; fear of movement from, 477.

States, circular letter, 10; line troops for defense, 294. *See also* states by name.

Steel, *Capt.* John, company regimented, 364; resigns, 364*n*.

Stenton, Pa., headquarters, orders from, 124.

Stephen, *Gen.* Adam, quarters, 27; councils of war, 110*n*, 263*n*, 279, 464*n*; Philadelphia campaign: before Brandywine, 123, 125, 129, 132, 140, 145, 153, 156, 179, 200; at Brandywine, 206; after Brandywine, 226*n*, 251, 297; at Germantown, conduct, inquiry, trial, 307, 309, 436, 493; after Germantown, 492.

Stevens, *Col.* Edward, Wayne trial, 421, 491.

Stewart, *Col.* Charles, commissary general of issues, and superintendent of bakers, 185; letter to, 214; supplies on route of march, 214; removal of stores, 315.

Stewart, *Maj.* John, shoes, 43.

Stewart, *Col.* Walter, soldiers and officers court-martialed, 30, 89, 100, 122, 378; at court of inquiry, 379; Wayne trial, 421, 491.

Stirling, *Gen.* William Alexander, *lord,* councils of war, 110*n*, 263*n*, 279; Philadelphia campaign: before Brandywine, 114, 125, 129, 169, 179, 200; at Brandywine, 206; after Brandywine, 226*n*, 251, 297; at Germantown, 307, 309; after Germantown, 492; ill, 149; letters to, 263, 265; and McDougall's advance, 264; at courts of inquiry, 347, 352, 379.

Stockings. *See* Shoes.

Stoner, *Capt.* John, court-martial, 403.

Stores. *See* Magazines.

Stragglers. *See* Absence.

Straw, supply, issue, 91, 121, 493.

Strength of forces. *See* Returns.

Striser, John, court-martial, 30.

Sullivan, *Capt.* Ebenezer, pay on parole, 74, 116.

Sullivan, *Gen.* John, Philadelphia campaign: before Brandywine, 1, 3–5. 92, 115, 116, 119, 136, 144, 179, 200; at Brandywine, conduct, proposed recall, inquiry, 206, 207, 227–229, 241, 242, 253, 425, 426; after Brandywine, 225*n*, 245, 251, 297; at Germantown, 307–310; after Germantown, British supply line, 421, 492; letters to, 2, 6, 43, 65, 115, 135, 241, 242, 245, 253, 425; pay for division, 43, 66; shoes

for division, 43; ill, 43; intelligence, 44; Staten Island raid, inquiry, 133, 135, 172, 347, 367, 379; councils of war, 263*n*, 279, 464*n*; aides, 285, 301*n*; and exchanging arms, 363; Wayne trial, 421, 491; Maxwell trial, 438, 470; Stephen trial, 493.

Supplies. *See* Commissary; Magazines.

Surgeons, regimental, to march, 470.

Sutlers, liquor, prices, taken over, 74, 105, 119, 442, 442*n*, 464, 464*n*, 491; ousted, 442*n*, 464*n*, 491.

Swan (Swaine), Joseph, brigade major, court-martial, 120; resigns, 144.

Swearingen, *Capt.* Van, letter to, 94; claim, 94; service, 94*n*.

Swedes Ford, Schuylkill River, American movements, 214, 225*n*, 229; British movement, 237, 258, 262.

Sweet, F. H., letter possessed by, 239*n*.

Swift, *Col.* Heman, regiment brigaded, 380; officer court-martialed, 438.

Swords, needed for dragoons, 421.

Tanneries, proposed public, 73.

Tar and feathers, as military punishment, 170.

Tattoo, discontinued, 190.

Taverns, City, 8; Palmers, 8; Lushs, 29; Billet, 37; Rising Sun, 124; Sign of the Buck, 162; of Conradt Gray, 168; Red Lion, 173; Carsons, 173; Welchs, 204*n*; Warren, 226; White Horse, 230; of James Milligan, 238*n*; Howells, 245; Thompsons, 245; Bogarts, 269; Bartholomews, 269; Leverings, 307; Jenkins, 307.

Taylor, *Maj.* John, Staten Island inquiry, 347.

Tents, in active campaign, 179, 193; allowance, 213, 342; import, 416.

Theft, by soldiers, trials, 99, 121; by officer, 360.

Third Dragoons. *See* Baylor, George.

Thompson, *Col.* John D., letter to, 140; militia in Philadelphia campaign, 140–142.

Thompsons Tavern, Pa., headquarters, letter from, 245.

Thomson, Charles, secretary of Congress, and state recruiters, 407*n*.

Thornbury, Joseph, wagonmaster general, and review, 33; council of war on department, 38*n*; on march, 63, 126; letter to, 255; heavy baggage, 255.

Thornton, Peter Presley, Washington's aide, 22, 189.

Thrackston, *Lieut. Col.* James, Wayne trial, 421, 491.

Three Mile Run, Pa., 124.

Thruston (Thurston), *Col.* Charles Mynn, officers of regiment, 40.

Ticonderoga, Washington on fall, 12, 22, 23; inquiry, 16, 22, 23, 26, 34, 38, 41, 106, 322; American success at, 276, 287; new American garrison, 467.

Tilghman, *Lieut. Col.* Tench, letters written by, 3*n*–6*n*, 9*n*, 20*n*, 26*n*, 35*n*, 43*n*, 56*n*, 60*n*, 66*n*, 68*n*, 71*n*, 101*n*, 105*n*, 106*n*, 111*n*, 113*n*, 115*n*, 118*n*, 130*n*, 132*n*, 138*n*, 139*n*, 146*n*, 155*n*, 162*n*, 166*n*, 174*n*, 185*n*–187*n*, 195*n*, 197*n*, 198*n*, 203*n*, 205*n*, 215*n*, 217*n*, 233*n*, 242*n*, 246*n*, 248*n*, 255*n*, 260*n*, 263*n*, 269*n*, 275*n*, 284*n*, 289*n*–291*n*, 293*n*, 296*n*, 303*n*, 317*n*, 318*n*, 325*n*–329*n*, 332*n*, 339*n*, 345*n*, 347*n*, 356*n*, 372*n*, 374*n*, 383*n*, 385*n*, 387*n*, 392*n*, 396*n*, 400*n*, 402*n*, 406*n*, 413*n*, 415*n*, 429*n*, 434*n*, 441*n*, 444*n*, 445*n*, 448*n*, 459*n*, 465*n*, 468*n*, 471*n*, 475*n*, 487*n*, 489*n*, 497*n*, 498*n*; on need of arms, letter, 140*n*; on movements, letter, 195*n*; on dragoon reconnaissance, letter, 214*n*; on McDougall's march, letter, 245*n*; on supplies, letter, 270*n*; on Delaware River defense, letters, 371*n*; on Burgoyne's defeat, 384; on repair of arms, letter, 400*n*.

Tinicum Island, Delaware River, British supply line, 462.

Tolbert, *Capt.* Samuel, company, 121.

Tomkins, John, tavern bill, 54*n*.

Toner Transcripts, material from, 18*n*, 41*n*, 59*n*, 225*n*, 233*n*, 261*n*, 374*n*.

Tools, import, 194.

Towamencin Township, Pa., headquarters, orders and letters from, 342–379.

Transportation, brigade wagons, 24, 212; wagons in review, 33; wagons in active campaign, 126, 127, 169, 180, 181, 492, 493, 498; removal of means before British advance, 150; night preparedness for march, 189, 244, 493; impressment of means, 214, 232, 233, 292, 375, 474; menacing British supply line, 317, 337, 338, 345, 346, 392, 405, 408, 421; wagon returns, 420. *See also* Baggage; Carriages; Horses; Navigation; Roads; Wagonmaster general; Wagonmasters.

Treat, *Capt.-Lieut.* Samuel, bears instructions, 256*n*; Fort Mifflin, 283; service, 283*n*.

Trenton, N. J., troops at, 24, 114, 117; sick and wounded to, 209; removing stores, 236, 271, 291, 292, 294, 315.

Trescott, *Capt.* Lemuel, rank, 194; service, 194*n*.

Troup, *Lieut.* John, loyalist recruiter, trial, 149, 158, 160.

Troup, Robert, service, loyalist brother, 158*n*.

Trumbull, *Gov.* Jonathan, militia and Howe's possible movements, 1, 2; letters to, 11*n*, 15, 196, 294, 329, 443; militia for the Hudson, 59, 91, 196, 219, 290, 296; forwarding dispatch, 115; return of continental arms, 324.

Trumbull, Joseph, commissary general, duties on march, 4.
Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, and foreign volunteer, 85.

Udree, *Col.* Daniel, Philadelphia campaign, 138.
Ulster County, N. Y., magazine, 154, 156.
Uniforms, red dragoon, 288.

Valley Forge (Potts Forge), 231; troops at, 236, 240.
Van Cordlandt, *Col.* Philip, regiment to Northern army, 35, 55, 60, 78, 82, 102.
Vandrering, John, mill, 307–309.
Van Swearingen. *See* Swearingen.
Varick Transcripts, material from, 80*n*, 241*n*, 282*n*, 390*n*, 440*n*, 442*n*, 443*n*, 464*n*.
Varnum, *Gen.* James Mitchell, letters to, 318, 326, 328, 333 (two), 343, 455, 472, 488; Philadelphia campaign, 318, 320, 325, 333, 335, 344, 465; brigade, 353, 380; at court of inquiry, 379; council of war, 464*n*; Delaware River defense, instructions, 455–457, 465, 472, 477, 488.
Vaughan, *Gen.* John, Hudson River expedition, 482, 482*n*.
Veary, *Lieut.* William, bears letter, 140.
Veazy, *Capt.* Edward, Philadelphia campaign, 140*n*.
Vegetables, need, 20.
Vermont, militia in Burgoyne campaign, 76*n*, 77.
Vinegar, need, 19; issue, 32.
Virginia, act against inoculation, 21*n*; militia force, proposed use, Washington's advice, 163, 164; recruiting, deficiencies, short term, draft, 165, 166, 367, 386, 481, 487; militia and state regiment in Philadelphia campaign, 223, 260, 270, 272–275, 277, 278, 313, 320, 324, 325, 329, 341, 350, 385, 398, 462, 479, 483, 484, 496; and Howe's movements, 271, 301; militia regulations, 301; artillery regiment, officers, 301, 302, 332; militia in Pennsylvania brigaded, 353; regimental establishment, change, protest, 481. *See also* next titles.
Virginia, governor of. *See* Henry, Patrick.
Virginia Eighth Regiment, soldiers and officers court-martialed, 30, 31, 438, 476*n*; officers, 285.
Virginia Eleventh Regiment, soldiers and officer court-martialed, 30, 191; officers, 302.
Virginia Fifteenth Regiment, soldier and officers court-martialed, 29, 404, 439. *See also* Mason, David.
Virginia Fifth Regiment. *See* Parker, Josiah.

Virginia First Regiment, officers court-martialed, 120, 403; command, 166. *See also* Hendricks, James.

Virginia Fourteenth Regiment, officer court-martialed, 101.

Virginia Fourth Regiment, officers court-martialed, 31, 359. *See also* Lawson, Robert.

Virginia Ninth Regiment, displaced, 329.

Virginia Second Regiment, officer court-martialed, 101. *See also* Spotswood, Alexander.

Virginia Seventh Regiment, officers court-martialed, 191. *See also* McClanachan, Alexander.

Virginia Sixth Regiment, soldier court-martialed, 122; paymaster, 149; command, 166.

Virginia State Library, material from, 303.

Virginia Tenth Regiment, soldiers court-martialed, 29, 122, 303. *See also* Green, John; Stevens, Edward.

Virginia Thirteenth Regiment, officers, 285; officers court-martialed, 404, 439.

Virginia Twelfth Regiment, officers court-martialed, 31, 303. *See also* Wood, James.

Volunteers, for Philadelphia campaign, 40, 157.

Von Heer, *Capt.* Bartholomew, court-martial, 304; service, 304*n*.

Vrigney, ——, foreign volunteer, commission, 480.

Wagonmaster general. *See* Thornbury, Joseph.

Wagonmasters, position, 122.

Wagons. *See* Transportation.

Walker, John, letter written by, 299*n*.

Wallace, *Sir* James, Hudson River expedition, 482*n*.

Walma, Nicholas, court-martial, 99.

Walton, George, letter to, 25.

Wampole, Frederick, headquarters at house, 343.

Ward, *Gen.* Artemas, letter to, 57.

Ward, Joseph, mustermaster general, dereliction, 28.

Ward, *Maj.* Samuel, on Fort Mercer attack, letter, 422*n*, 424; service, 424*n*.

Warm Springs. *See* Berkeley Springs.

Warner, Joseph, house, 307.

Warner, *Col.* Seth, Schuyler on, 35*n*; regiment to the Hudson, 468*n*.

Warren Tavern, Pa., headquarters, orders and letters from, 226–230, 258, 262.

Warwick, Md., British raid, 155.

Warwick, Pa., movement to, 231, 233.

Washington, Anne (Steptoe), death, 39.

Washington, George, movements, 1, 2, 5, 20, 37, 45, 130, 136, 145, 190, 195, 197, 207, 210, 211, 219, 222, 226, 230, 231, 242, 245, 245*n*, 246, 270, 284, 286, 308, 400, 402, 404, 405, 415, 492, 493; advocates inoculation, 21; and private correspondence, 39; proposed dedication of book to, 92; phaeton at Philadelphia, 232; on burden, 389; office for relative, 449. *See also* American Revolution; Commander in chief; Land.

Washington, Jane, marriage, 399.

Washington, John Augustine, letters to, 20, 397; inoculation of family, 21.

Washington, Lawrence, letter copied by, 41*n*.

Washington, Martha, lease of dower lands to son, 280–282.

Washington, Samuel, letters to, 39, 449.

Washington, Thornton, and army, volunteer or commission, 39, 449; return to Virginia, horse equipment, 40.

Washington, Warner, regards, 451.

Washington, William Augustine, marriage, 399.

Washington, U. S. S., 448*n*.

Way, *Dr.* Nicholas, and captured wounded, 217.

Wayne, *Gen.* Anthony, letters to, 97, 235 (two), 252, 270*n*; division in Philadelphia campaign: before Brandywine, 114, 124, 125, 129, 169, 179, 200; at Brandywine, 207; after Brandywine, 226*n*, 228, 231, 235, 238, 241, 252, 258, 261, 263*n*, 265, 297; at Germantown, 307, 309; after Germantown, 492; shoes, 270*n*; councils of war, 279, 442*n*, 464*n*; Paoli inquiry and trial, 352, 354, 361, 421, 422, 491.

Weare, *Pres.* Meshech, letter to, 11*n*.

Webb, George, arbitration by, 281.

Webb, *Col.* Samuel Blatchley, *Correspondence,* 440*n*.

Webbs Ferry, Pa., 356*n*.

Weedon, *Gen.* George, councils of war, 110*n*, 263*n*, 464*n*; marching orders, 125, 226*n*; and depredations, 191; brigade major, 304*n*; Wayne trial, 421, 491; seamen for river defense, 461.

Welchs Tavern, Pa., 204*n*.

Wells, *Corp.* Enoch, court-martial, 99.

Wentz, Peter, route by, 282; headquarters, orders and letters from, 282*n*, 303, 379–405.

Westfall, *Ensign* Cornelius, court-martial, 31; resigns, 31*n*.

Westmoreland County, Pa., recruiting trouble, 176.

Wharton, *Pres.* Thomas, *jr.*, letters to, 11*n*, 36, 216, 218, 385, 464.

Whiner, Henry, court-martial, 99.

Whipping, as military punishment, 89, 100, 120–122, 168, 170, 303; summary, 126.

Whipple, William, letter to, 9*n*.

White, *Lieut. Col.* Anthony Walton, at court-martial, 119; service, 119*n*; letter to, 156.

White, Charles, deputy commissary of issues, and ration, 205.

White, John, Sullivan's aide, 285.

White, *Col.* John, recruiting from other regiments, 64.

White Clay Creek, Del., American position, 173.

White Horse Tavern, Pa., 230; British at, 262.

White Marsh, Pa., church, 307; headquarters, letters and orders from, 493, 495–498.

Whitehill, Delaware River, frigates at, 434, 436, 437.

Whiting, *Lieut.* Henry, court-martial, 191.

Whitpain Township, Pa., headquarters, letters and orders from, 406–495.

Willcox, Edward, quartermaster, court-martial, 99.

Willet (Willard?), *Dr.* Elias(?), and captured wounded, 217.

Williamsburg, Va., proposed militia post, 163.

Wilmington, Del., headquarters, letters and orders from, 130–190; works, 180; stragglers, 209; British at, plan to surprise, 316, 344–346, 474.

Wilson, James, committees: on officers' ration, 38*n*; on Burgoyne campaign, 83*n*.

Wilson, *Dr.* Lewis, and captured wounded, 244; service, 244*n*.

Winds, *Gen.* William, and Delaware River defense, 469.

Wisconsin Historical Society, material from, 368*n*.

Wishart, *Lieut.* Thomas, court-martial, 120.

Women, with army, reduction, 17; in active campaign, 126, 139, 213; kept out of camp, 130.

Wood, *Col.* James, at court-martial, 17, 266, 267, 296, 303, 304.

Woodbury, N. J., militia rendezvous, 59; troops at, 456.

Woodford, *Gen.* William, and Thornton Washington, 40, 449; marching orders, 125; Brandywine, wounded, 208, 322; letter to, 319; seamen for river defense, 461.
Worcester Township, Pa., headquarters, letters and orders from, 298–308, 379–405.
Worsham, *Ensign* Richard, paymaster's abuse, 101; service, 101*n.*
Wright, William, assault by officer, 89.

Yellow Springs, Pa., headquarters, letters and orders from, 230–235.
York, Pa., stores removed, 119; Congress at, 257.
Yorktown, Va., proposed militia post, 163.
Young, Samuel, powder, 222.

Zielinski, *Capt.* John de, Moylan's assault, 472.

Date ~~Loaned~~			
FEB 13 1962 E			
RET'D FEB 19 1962			

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
1 1719 01542 8438